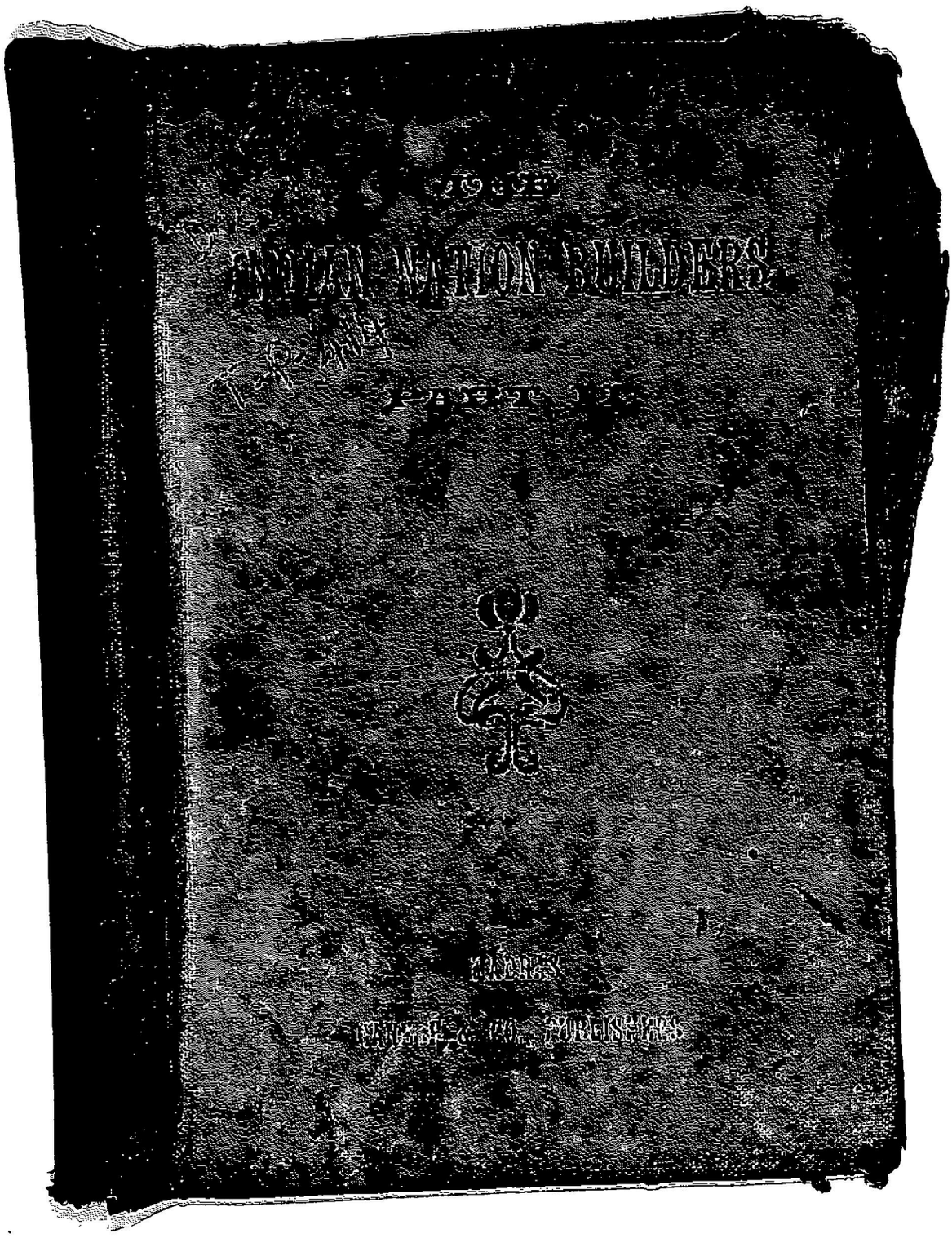

rolled the weight of two and eighty years. The same news of his illness was received in India with melancholy forebodings, but, thank God, he still lives in our midst not probably to guide us actively in our political deliberations but to be an encouraging presence. On the advice of his doctors, he has been removed from England to the more genial climate of his own native land. He has since his return been residing in Bombay and he has slowly regained somewhat of his former health. The eighty-fourth birthday of the Grand Old Man was celebrated throughout India with unfeigned rejoicings and from pure and devouted hearts. The occasion was marked by a telegram of congratulation from the Governor of Bombay and the reply that was given by the veteran leader is quite characteristic of the man. While sincerely thanking His Excellency for his telegram of congratulation, he thanked him for hoping that he would be spared to see the passing of the clouds which now darken the Indian sky and threaten the peaceful progress of the people.

He felt hopeful that a change for the better would come by timely and necessary reform, restoring that faith in the British justice which he has always felt and which he prayed India may always have good cause to cherish. Being unable to reply to every telegram of congratulation sent to him, he published a general acknowledgment, expressing his hope that violence would be avoided and that the agitation for essential reforms might be carried on peacefully, perseveringly, and fearlessly. Nobody can venture to prophesy how long he may be spared to live in the land of the living ; but his life is one that will never fade from memory and will be cherished for untold generations as a rich heritage and inspiration.

MAIDEN SPEECH IN THE PARLIAMENT

9th August 1892

It may be considered rather rash and unwise on my part to stand before this House so immediately after my admission here ; and my only excuse is that I am under a certain necessity to do so. My election for an English constituency is a unique event. For the first time during more than a century of settled British rule, an Indian is admitted into the House as a member for an English constituency. That, as I have said, is a unique event in the History of India, and, I may also venture to say, in the History of the British Empire. I desire to say a few words in analysis of this great and wonderful phenomenon. The spirit of the British rule, the instinct of British justice and generosity, from the very commencement, when they seriously took the matter of Indian policy into their hands, about the beginning of this century, decided that India was to be governed on the line of British freedom and justice. Steps were taken without any hesitation to introduce Western education, civilisation, and political institutions in that country; and the result was that, aided by a noble and grand language in which the youth of that country began to be educated, a great movement of political life—I may say new life—was infused into that country which had been decaying for centuries. The British rulers of the country endowed it with all their own most important privileges. A few days ago, sir, you demanded from the Throne the privileges which belong to the people, including freedom of speech, for which they fought and shed their blood. That freedom of speech you have given

to us, and it enables Indians to stand before you and represent in clear and open language any desire they have felt. By conferring those privileges you have prepared for this final result of an Indian standing before you in this House, becoming a member of the great Imperial Parliament of the British Empire, and being able to express his views openly and fearlessly before you. The glory and credit of this great event—by which India is thrilled from one end to the other—of the new life, the joy, the ecstasy of India at the present moment, are all your own; it is the spirit of British institutions and the love of justice and freedom in British instincts which has produced this extraordinary result, and I stand here in the name of India to thank the British people that they have made it at all possible for an Indian to occupy this position, and to speak freely in the English language of any grievance which India may be suffering under, with the conviction that though he stands alone, with only one vote, whenever he is able to bring forward any aspiration and is supported by just and proper reasons, he will find a large number of other members from both sides of the House ready to support him and give him the justice he asks. This is the conviction which permeates the whole thinking and educated classes of India. It is that conviction that enables us to work on, day after day, without dismay, for the removal of a grievance. The question now being discussed before the House will come up from time to time in practical shape, and I shall then be able to express my humble views upon them as a representative of the English constituency of Central Finsbury. I do not intend to enter into them now. Central Finsbury has earned the everlasting gratitude of the millions of India, and has made itself famous in the history of the British Empire, by electing an Indian to

represent it. Its name will never be forgotten by India. This event has strengthened the British power and the loyalty and attachment of India to it ten times more than the sending out of one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand European soldiers would have done. The moral force to which the right honourable gentleman, the member for Midlothain (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), referred, is the golden link by which India is held by the British power. So long as India is satisfied with the justice and honour of Britain, so long will her Indian Empire last, and I have not the least doubt that, though our progress may be slow and we may at times meet with disappointments, if we persevere, whatever justice we ask in reason we shall get. I thank you, sir, for allowing me to say these few words and the House for so indulgently listening to me, and I hope that the connection between England and India—which forms five-sixths of the British Empire—may continue long with benefit to both countries. There will be certain Indian questions, principally of administration, which I shall have to lay before the House, and I am quite sure that when they are brought forward they will be fairly considered, and, if reasonable, amended to our satisfaction.

* MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

The following is the letter addressed by Mr. Dadabhai to Mr. Gokhale, the President of the Indian National Congress, held at Benares in 1905.

22, KENNINGTON ROAD, LONDON, S. E.

November 26, 1905.

My dear Gokhale,—I should have much liked to be present at the twenty-first Congress. It is the last before coming of age, when it is time to look back over the past and consider the future.

Looking back fifty-two years to the year 1853, when the first three political associations had their birth—viz., the British Indian Association of Bengal, the Madras Association, and the Bombay Association—we see how limited our political ideas and aspirations of that time were. The extent and causes of the increasing poverty of India, we had hardly any clear conception of, nor had we fully realised our rights and duties as free British citizens. Like all beginnings this was small, but it was sound and healthy in the circumstances and knowledge of the time. I can say this as I was present at the inauguration of the Bombay Association, and have taken part in it and in its subsequent work.

Of these three, the British Indian Association has preserved its existence till to-day, doing much good work. The Bombay Association, after several years of

* From India.

good work, came to a close, but was revived and after some years was succeeded by the present active Bombay Presidency Association. I think the Madras Association had also similar chequered career, and is now represented by the present active Madras Mahajana Sabha. There were some Provincial Associations also formed in time, as the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and others. Now what was the result in brief of all this our first awakening and work? The work done by these Associations and the seeds sown by them during thirty-two years, till 1885, produced their fruit in a larger conception of our political condition and knowledge, and what was of still greater importance—a closer union among all classes, creeds, and races of the whole country—results of which at our political birth in 1853 there was not much clear idea or anticipation. And, further, the development of the political ideas and forces carried with it an impetus and larger awakening of the social ideas and forces, and they have gone on working side by side as they ought, each influencing the other.

Coming to later times, the work done during the thirty-two years, from 1853 to 1885, gave birth to our Indian National Congress as its best and natural fruit, leaving a great legacy of union and political progress, and fairly earning a claim to gratitude from the succeeding generations. Nearly all those who began the work in 1843 have, I think, passed away, leaving the duty of further work on the rising generation of the day.

How that generation from 1885 up to this time has done its work has been before us year after year in our national gatherings and their reports. But over and

above the formulating and pressing for the various reforms in the defects in the existing administrative machinery, there were other far more important objects to be attained by the Congress. The first and most important was the change in the policy of the present system of government; further, on the one hand, the educating and awakening of the people of India to a knowledge of their political and civil rights and duties as free British citizens—and, on the other hand, to educate and urge upon the British people their duty to grant these rights. This double work, both in India and England, was absolutely necessary, and would remain so necessary to the end of the chapter as long as we have to claim and obtain our rights from the British people and parliament.

This double work has gone right well so far as means and opportunities have permitted. We see in India as a result—a new India has arisen chafing under their present abject subjected, and impoverishing condition under a policy of foreign destructive despotism and aspiring to higher and pressing aims—aims of self-government like that of the Colonies. For self-government is the only effective remedy for the drain and all its deplorable and terrible consequences, of extreme and increasing impoverishment, starvation, famines, plagues, and moral debasement and intellectual deterioration, from which India is suffering. The Colonies have prospered with self-government, and India can and will also prosper by the same means only. The British Empire must be an Empire of free and prosperous men, and not an Empire of tyrants and slaves and perishing humanity. Macaulay truly says—the worst of all tyrannies is the tyranny of a nation over a nation.

In preparing and granting this new India with its higher and most urgent aims, the Congress has fulfilled its highest mission. And we see this new awakening producing its fruit even now in the robust and straight stand all India made against Lord Curzon's University speech, and against Lord Hamilton's and Lord Curzon's restrictive, reactionary and injurious measures with the view of tightening upon us the bonds of despotism and increasing the impoverishing drain from which India has been already so badly suffering. But the latest fruit of the rising public spirit is the united, vigorous action which Bengal has taken in the matter of the partition of Bengal with the sympathy of the rest of India.

Before I refer to the future, I feel, in connexion with the British Committee, that I should express a word of thanks to the four Anglo-Indian gentlemen—Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Sir Henry Cotton, who are still working with us in the British Committee, and who have, with no little sacrifice and odium, guided, inspired, and helped us from an early period of our efforts to demand and obtain our just rights. I do not forget the thanks that are due to several other Anglo-Indians and Englishmen living and dead.

We are now on the eve of our arriving of age, and we have to make a new start forward with all the advantages of the experience and result of past political work and progress of fifty-two years. What should be our future work? The work of the Congress in India and England has developed, as I have already said, a clear and most urgent aim, viz., self-government like that of the Colonies, in the way most suitable to the

nominee in the Council formed the highest opinion of his mental qualities, and found himself in general agreement with him on almost all questions; and on more than one occasion his manly fight for his countrymen was fruitful of good results. It is not by his success at the bar or in the Senate that he has impressed his countrymen, but by his association with the great political institution of his land, the Indian National Congress. He was from the first year of its existence till his death one of its most strenuous champions, and watched over its growth with the solicitude of a parent. When the first Congress met in Bombay in 1885, he was unanimously elected the President. Although he was no orator of the type of Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, swaying his audience by the magic of his eloquence, he could carry conviction to the intellect by his deliberate and clear exposition. He claimed even for the first Congress a representative character, not indeed the representative character of the British House of Commons but that informal one based upon "community of sentiments, community of feelings, and community of wants." Mr. Bonnerjee was one of those Indians of an earlier period whose faith in the British Raj approximated to religious certitude, and he never, with the devotion of a believer, would confess that he had been disappointed in his expectations. Even in the first Presidential Speech he had to contradict the assertion of the enemies of the new association who were tempted to describe it as consisting of disloyal men. He said "that there were no more thoroughly loyal and consistent well-wishers of the British Government than were himself and the friends around him." But this feeling of attachment to the British connection did not mean a forgetfulness of their duties to their

638

country. "The more progress a people made in education and material prosperity, the greater would be the insight into political matters, and the keener their desire for political advancement. He thought that their desire to be governed according to the ideas of Government prevalent in Europe was in no way incompatible with their thorough loyalty to the British Government. All that they desired was that the basis of the Government should be widened and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it." Here was an emphatic declaration of the aims and objects of the Congress in its very inception, but interested men and authorities were not prone to believe in this honest assertions, but continued to attack by all means the fair name of the Institution, which has survived contempt and misrepresentation but which is now endangered not by external foes but by internal dissensions. The second Congress held its sittings in Calcutta and the successful terminations of its proceedings is mainly due to the interest of Mr. Bonnerjee. He strove to carry through the Congress a proposition on the Jury system in India which gave the District Judges the power to refer to the High Court cases, when they happened to differ with the Jury. He and the other great Bengali lawyer Mana Mohan Ghose overcame the opposition to the resolution for securing finality to verdicts of the jury. The third session of the Congress in 1887 was a memorable one, for it was presided over by Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, a Mohemaden gentleman of the greatest catholicity of spirit whose co-operation at that time tended, to remove the impression that the Congress was purely a Hindu gathering, as its enemies said. It was during this

Congress that, when the proposition on Military Colleges came in for a good deal of opposition, the President called upon Mr. Bonnerjee to define the term Native of India, which he did by including in it even Eurasians and East Indians and domiciled Europeans.

He was not present at the next Congress, for he was in England recruiting his health, but he took this opportunity for enlisting the sympathy of the British people in the cause of India. He addressed English audiences in different parts of the country, and sought to dispel the ignorance of the people concerning Indian grievances and aspirations. He criticised the amendments introduced by that great Lawyer, Sir James Fitz Stephen, in the Criminal Procedure Code, urged the necessity for the expansion of the Legislative Councils, and for the election of non-official members who would not be absolutely dependent upon the Government for their seats. He described very humorously the pitiable position of a certain member of the Viceregal Council who was completely ignorant of the language in which the debates were conducted. He was asked how he knew the way in which the Presidents wanted him to vote, and his answer was, "When the Viceroy lifts up his hand one way, I know he wants me to say 'Yes,' and I say 'Yes'; and when he lifts up his hand in a different way, I know he wants me to say 'no,' and I say "no". He refuted the argument that the Indians had no representative institutions in the past and therefore they are not fit for them. The village system in India is a model of the representative system as it prevailed in India in former days, and in many parts of the country it still holds its place, in

spite of the forces that have been in operation for the break-up of the village autonomy.

After pleading the cause of his country at the bar of the English nation, he returned to India in 1888 in time to be present at the fourth session of the Indian National Congress that was held at Allahabad under the Presidency of George Yule.

Mr. George Yule was induced by the sweet reasonableness of Mr. Bonnerjee to accept the onerous position that was entrusted to him. Not only the President, but the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Pundit Ajuthianath, was won to the Congress cause by the tactful and courteous persuasion of the indefatigable Bonnerjee. It was a time of despair which, as in the immortal allegory, captures even the most sanguine temperament when it is wearied with the efforts of an apparently hopeless responsibility. His voice raised in encouragement of the drooping courage of the Congressmen, counselled moderation, patience, fidelity to the great cause and to themselves. "Give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, and you reach the shores of victory in no time."

Next year in 1889 the Bombay Congress was presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, and was graced by the presence of one of the stoutest and most sympathetic Englishmen that ever interested themselves in the uplifting of our country. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh who had fought many a hard fight and won at last was induced to leave his country and be present at the Congress session at Bombay. The honour of his visit to our land is entirely to be attributed to the efforts of Mr. Bonnerjee who was loved and respected by every Englishman who came into contact with him.

emanate from British rule in India that have made the Congress the success it is."

As a lawyer he was very much interested in the administration of justice especially criminal. He maintained that the system of trial by Jury was not foreign to this country. The Punchayat System for generations has familiarised it to the people of this country, and various enactments extending the system into India, were based upon it. That the trial of offences of a serious nature should be entrusted to officials, serving under the Government, was apt to produce much dissatisfaction, and, in many cases, miscarriage of justice. This question, of course, was placed in the fore front, because it was the purity of the tribunals of justice that formed one of the main pillars of the stability of the British Government in this country. In the memorable Congress held at Poona, Mr. Bonnerjee considered another aspect of the jury system, as it prevails in India, viz., the calling upon juries to give special verdicts. "Five men, perfectly indifferent to the prisoner and perfectly indifferent to the Crown, may be expected to arrive at a right verdict; but unless they are trained lawyers, unless they have the logical faculty of assigning reasons for their opinion in a taking shape, you cannot expect the jurymen to give such verdicts as would be acceptable to everybody; and if a juryman gives reasons which are not acceptable and which appear on the face of them to be foolish, the Judge would go to the High Court and say, "Look at the verdict, look at these reasons which these men have given for the verdict; they are foolish and this verdict must be upset," though their verdict may be

When the Congress met in Calcutta a second time in 1890, Mr. Bonnerjee was prevented by physical suffering and private sorrow from taking that part in its deliberations which none could discharge so satisfactorily as he. The following year Nagpur had the privilege of inviting the Congress, and in that year Mr. Bonnerjee moved the delegates to adopt a resolution which expressed the necessity for holding a Congress every year in India. This momentous resolution was contrary to the sentiments of the British Congress Committee who desired that the Congress should hold one of its sittings in London for the edification of the British public. In 1892 Mr. Bonnerjee was elected a second time to the Congress Presidency, an honour which is seldom bestowed upon Indians and which shews the confidence which was reposed in him by Congressmen. For once he went out of his way, and delivered a long speech. In it he gave deserved praise to Mr. A. O. Hume who has been aptly styled the "Father of the Indian National Congress." But the success achieved by it was ultimately to be traced to the manifold influences introduced into the country by the British Government. "It is not the influence of this man, or of that man, or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is, it is the British professors who have discoursed eloquently to us on the glorious constitution of their country; it is the British merchants who have shewn to us how well to deal with the commodities of our country; it is the British engineers who have annihilated distance and enabled us to come together for our deliberations from different parts of the empire; it is the British planters who have shown us how best to raise the products of our soil; it is all these, in other words, it is all the influences which

emanate from British rule in India that have made the Congress the success it is."

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perfectly just under the circumstances." Such a thing as special verdicts has been altogether unknown to the English Criminal law.

In 1892 Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was returned at the head of the poll as member for Central Finsbury. In 1896, the Subjects Committee entrusted to Mr. Bonnerjee a proposition which expressed confidence in Mr. Dadabhai and hope that he would be re-elected. Mr. Bonnerjee moved the Congress Resolution on the sedition law as amended by Mr. Chalmers, who claimed that he was only bringing the law in India on a line with the law, as it prevails in England. He had no objection at all to the law of sedition in this country being made the same as in England provided, of course, Mr. Chalmers gave us in this country the same machinery for the administration of the laws, as exists in England. In England, trials for sedition are held before a Judge, who is a countryman of the prisoner, and by a jury, who are also countrymen of the prisoner, and no trial can take place unless a true bill has been found against the prisoner by a grand I Jury who are also countrymen of the prisoner. If Mr. Chalmers gave us this mode of trial, we should hail him, however severe he might make the law, as the greatest law-giver that has ever come to this country. He went on to observe how the District Magistrates who are officers of the Government in the strict sense of the term and whose promotion depends upon the good will of the Government for the time being, were empowered, according to the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, with authority to try cases of sedition. He anticipated that the Jury in a presidency town might consist entirely of Europeans, and

that not a single one of them need know the language in which the seditious speech is alleged to have been made or the seditious article to have been written. He did not think that their protest would make the Government abandon the proposed amendment in the law of sedition, necessitated by the Tilak trial in 1897. He wanted to carry the protest before a higher authority than even Lord Elgin's Government. The British public must be made to know how the agents they had sent to govern the country on their behalf and in their name were dealing with the people; that is, dealing in a manner wholly unworthy of the British name and the British law of freedom. He had no doubt that, if we convinced them that we were right, the British nation would rise in their wrath and free us from the trammels that Lord Elgin and his Councillors were forging for us. This was the sum and substance of the political philosophy that was sworn to by Congressmen everywhere in the country. The ultimate appeal lay to the British public, the fair-minded and magnanimous British public. If they failed us, then we had nothing else to do but to sit down and wring our hands in impotent despair. The policy of the Congress has changed much since his time. There is a new spirit abroad which affirms in no hesitating voice that our destiny is in the first instance in the hands of the Almighty and next in our own hands. It is of course quite possible to reconcile the old faith with the new born hope and strength. It is on account of the absence in our midst of one who has assimilated the old and the new that we are forced to face the disastrous situation of the political workers in the country being divided into two hostile camps, spending their strength in mutual reproaches. This is not the

645

place to discuss the great problem which it is hoped the common sense and patriotism of our politicians would solve to the lasting advantage of our country.

Mr. Bonnerjee left India for good in 1902 and lived in a magnificent house that he had bought at Croydon. His practice at the bar of the Privy Council grew to a considerable extent. He lavished the hospitality of his home on his guests with the dignity of a prince. He rendered signal service to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress; and, in addition to all these labours he wanted to become a member of Parliament. But while nursing the constituency of Walthamstow, he was attacked by an affection of the eye and was reduced to a very precarious state of health. The hand of the Reaper was upon him. He knew it and wrote to Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt that he did not hope, to live long. On July 21 of 1906, the end came and the suffering patriot entered into the rest of the sons of God. His last remains were cremated at Golder's green when Mr. Dadabhai delivered a short funeral oration with great feeling.

The voice of the great statesman is now hushed in the dust, but every son of India loves to contemplate the life that was so well spent in the cause of his Motherland. He was not like other great sons whom Bengal has given for the service of the country. He was not a great speaker nor was he fired by the creed of nationalism. So many of India's patriots' Nationalism comes from God, like the great faiths founded by inspiration. He did not dwell in the region of religio-political mysticism. His practical judgment worked in the world of facts. He was no impatient idealist but a very sober, wise, and candid politician who

did not ignore the limitations of our national activities. It is said that he was an autocrat in the Congress, who paid very little respect to the sentiments and opinions of other people but his autocracy was on the whole beneficial. There is a period in the history of every institution when the voice of one man carries more weight than is due to it. We can appropriately close this brief account of his life by quoting the words of Dadabhai than whom there is no one better qualified to estimate the worth of a fellow-worker. "His utterances were as statesmanlike and far-seeing as they were modestly conceived. There was no undue elation, but, at the same time, there was no shrinking from responsibility, but none rejoiced more than he at the ample fulfilment of the hope he expressed for the stability and progress of the movement he and his companions had met to inaugurate. Since that eventful day, he had devoted himself to the cause with characteristic thoroughness. As a member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, he displayed the same wisdom and earnestness; and his advice and guidance had always been of inestimable weight and value to them in their deliberations. The successful career which had placed him at the head of his profession was the result of his industry and perseverance qualities which distinguished him no less than his fearlessness and love of country. It would be long before they looked upon his like: and they could console themselves with the thought of the bright example he had left behind him. He would be sadly missed; but although they had lost him, they could never forget him nor what he had done for India."

THE EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1892.

Presidential Address of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee.

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The position, which, by your unanimous voice, you have called me to fill is a most distinguished and honourable one. I am proud to fill it and I trust that with your help and by your forbearance I may be able to discharge the duties which will be required of me as the Preside nt of the Eighth Indian National Congress adequately and satisfactorily (Cheers). Those duties, as all of you who have attended the Congress before know, are heavy and onerous in the extreme, and I appeal to you to deal out to me, in the same spirit in which you have dealt out to my predecessors, such help and indulgence as may be needed by me.

You have been reminded that I have the honour to be the person, who inaugurated the Congress movement in Bombay, in the year 1885 as its first president. It is a singular coincidence that the Bombay meeting was held on this very day, the 28th December. The first cycle of our existence commenced on the 28th December, under my humble presidency, and ended with the presidency of my friend Mr. Anandacharlu, who so kindly proposed my election. The second cycle begins on the same day seven years afterwards and again under my humble p residency. At the first Congress there were only a few of us assembled together, but as I pointed out

at the time there were various causes which prevented a larger muster. Those, however, who assembled there on that occasion, were animated by a sincere desire to make the movement a success and fully determined that it should be so if hard work could effect it. And I appeal to those assembled here to-day to say whether that movement has been a success or not (applause). Year after year we have met, each meeting vieing with its predecessor in the number of delegates attending it the sacrifices which the delegates made to attend it, in the energy, zeal and determination with which the business was passed through and the moderation which throughout characterized the proceedings before the Congress. There can be no doubt—say what those who do not view our proceedings with friendly eyes, may—that the Congress movement has been a success and a conspicuous success. The persons to whom I have referred have been troubling their brains, from almost the very commencement of the movement, to find out how it is that this movement, which they are pleased to call only a "native" movement, has been such a success. And they have hit upon one of the causes which they have, iterated and reiterated, in season and out of season, as the cause of the success of the Congress; namely, the influence over us of that great man Allan Octavian Hume. (Loud and prolonged cheers). That Mr. Hume possesses, and has exercised, a vast amount of influence over the Congress movement, and over each single Congress which has met, is a fact. We are not only not ashamed to acknowledge it, but we acknowledge it with gratitude to that gentleman, and we are proud of his connection with the Congress (Cheers). But the movement is only to

some extent, and I may say only to a limited extent, due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us. It is not the influence of this man, or of that man or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is. It is the British professors who have discoursed eloquently to us on the glorious constitution of their country; it is the British merchants who have shewn to us how well to deal with the commodities of our country; it is the British Engineers who have annihilated distance and enabled us to come together for our deliberation from all parts of the Empire; it is the British Planters who have shewn us how best to raise the products of our soil; it is all these, in other words, it is all the influences which emanate from British Rule in India that have made the Congress the success it is (cheers). The Congress is a mere manifestation of the good work that has been done by all those to whom I have referred (and I ought also to have referred to the British missionaries who have worked amongst us); and all that we wish by this movement to do is to ask the British public both in this country and in Great Britain, that, without any strain on the connection which exists between great Britain and this country, such measures may be adopted by the ruling authorities that the grievances under which we labour may be removed, and that we may hereafter have the same facilities of national life that exist in Great Britain herself. How long it will take us to reach the latter end no one can tell, but it is our duty to keep the hope of it before us, and keep reminding our fellow British subjects that this hope shall always be with us. (cheers).

Some of our critics have been busy in telling us, thinking they knew our affairs better than we know

them ourselves that we ought not to meddle with political matters, but leaving politics aside devote ourselves to social subjects and so improve the social system of our country. I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussion of social matters; those are things which I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organisation, to do what they can for its improvement. We know how excited people become when social subjects are discussed in public. Not long ago we had an instance of this when what was called the Age of Consent Bill was introduced into the Viceregal Legislitive Council. I do not propose to say one word as to the merits of the controversy that arose over that measure, but I allude to it to illustrate how apt the public mind is to get agitated over these social matters if they are discussed in a hostile and unfriendly spirit in public. But to show to you that those who organized the Congress movement had not lost sight of the question of social reform. I may state that when we met in Bombay for the first time the matter was discussed threadbare, and with the help of such distinguished social reformers as Dewan Bahadur Ragunatha Rao of Madras, Mr. Mahadev Govind Ranade, and Mr. Krishnaji Lekshman Nulker of Poona, Mr. Norendranath Sen, and Mr. Janakinath Goshal of Calcutta, and others. The whole subject was considered from every point of view and we at last came to the conclusion, with the full consent and concurrence of those distinguished men that it would not do for the Congress to meddle itself, as a Congress with questions of social reform. At the same time we also came to the conclusion, that those gentlemen who were anxious in a friendly spirit, to discuss their own

social organisations should have an opportunity of doing so in the Congress hall, after the business of the Congress should be over. The principal reason which actuated us in coming to that conclusion was that at our gatherings there would attend delegates following different religions living under different social systems, all more or less interwoven with their respective religions, and we felt it would not be possible for them as a body to discuss social matters. How is it possible for a Hindu gentleman to discuss with a Parsee or Mohammedan gentleman matters connected with Hindu social questions? How is it possible for a Mohammedan gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Parsee gentlemen matters connected with Mohammedan social questions? And how is it possible for a Parsee gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Mohammedan gentlemen matters connected with Parsee social customs? We thought, and I hope you will agree that we were right, that under the circumstances all we could do was to leave it to the Hindus and the Mohammedans, Parsees and other delegates to discuss their respective social matters in a friendly spirit amongst themselves, and arrive at what conclusions they please, and if possible, to get the minority to submit to the views of the majority. (cheers). I may point out that we do not all understand in the same sense what is meant by social reform. Some of us are anxious that our daughters should have the same education as our sons; that they should go to Universities, that they should adopt learned professions; others, who are more timid, would be content with seeing that their children are not given in marriage when very young, and that child widows should not remain widows all the days of their lives. Others, more timid still would allow social problems to solve

themselves. It is impossible to get any common ground, even as regards the members of the same community be it Hindu, Mohammedan or Parsee with respect to these matters. Thus it was that social questions were left out of the Congress programme ; thus it was that the Congress commenced and has since remained, and will, I sincerely trust, always remain as a purely political organisation, devoting its energies to political matters and political matters only. I am afraid that those whether belonging to our own country or to any other country who find fault with us for not making social subjects a part of our work cherish a secret wish that we might all be set by the ears as we were all set by the ears by the Age of Consent Bill and thus we might come to an ignominious end. They mean us no good, and when we find critics of that description talking of the Congress as only fit to discuss social problems I think the wider the berth we give them the better. (cheers.) I, for one, have no patience with those who say we shall not be fit for political reform until we reform our social system. I fail to see any connection between the two. Let me take, for instance, one of the political reforms which we have been suggesting year after year namely, the separation of judicial and executive functions in the same officer. What possible connection can there be between this, which is a purely political reform, and social reform ? In the same way, take the permanent settlement which we have been advocating, the amendment of the law relating to forest and other such measures:—and I ask again, what have these to do with social reforms ? Are we not fit for them because our widows remain unmarried and our girls are given in marriage earlier than in other countries? Because our wives and daughters do not drive

about with us visiting our friends? Because we do not send our daughters to Oxford and Cambridge? (cheers).

It is now my sorrowful duty to officially announce to you that death has been busy amongst the ranks of Congressmen during the year just passed. Standing on this platform and speaking in this city, one feels almost an overpowering sense of despair when one finds that the familiar figure and the beloved face of Pandit Ajudhianath is no more. We mourned for him when he died, we have mourned for him since and those of us who had the privilege of knowing him intimately, of perceiving his kindly heart, his great energy, his great devotion to the Congress cause, and the sacrifices he made for that cause will mourn for him to the last. With Pandit Ajudhianath has passed away that other great Congress leader Mr. George Yule. These were the most prominent figures in the Congress held in this city in 1888, Pandit Ajudhianath as the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Mr. Yule as the President of the Congress. It was my singular good fortune to have been the means of inducing both these gentlemen to espouse the Congress cause. I was here in April 1887, and met Pandit Ajudhianath, who had not then expressed his views one way or another with regard to Congress matters. I discussed the matter with him. He listened to me with his usual courtesy and urbanity, and he pointed out to me certain defects which he thought existed in our system; and at last, after a sympathetic hearing of over an hour and a half, he told me he would think of all I had said to him and that he would consider the matter carefully and thoroughly and let me know his views. I never heard anything from him from that time until on the eve of my departure for Madras to attend the

Congress of 1887. I then received a letter from him in which he said I had made a convert of him to the Congress cause, that he had thoroughly made up his mind to join us, that he was anxious to go to Madras himself, but that illness prevented him from doing so, and he sent a message that if it pleased the Congress to hold its next sessions at Allahabad in 1888 he would do all he could to make the Congress a success. And you know—certainly, those of you who attended know—what a success he did make of it. Our venerable President of the Reception Committee, of this present Congress has told us the difficulties which had to be encountered to make that Congress a success, and I do not belittle his services or those of any other worthy Congressman who worked with him at that Congress, when I say that it was owing to Pandit Ajudhianath's exertions that that Congress was the success it was.

When it was time to select a President for recommendation to the Congress of 1888, it was suggested to me, I being then in England, that I might ascertain the views of Mr. George Yule, and ask him to preside. I accordingly saw him at his office in the city, and had the same kind of conversation with him as I had had, the year before, with Pandit Ajudhianath. He also listened to me kindly, courteously and sympathetically and asked me to give him all the Congress literature I had. I had only the three Reports of the Congress meetings of 1885, 1886 and 1887, and I sent these to him; and to my great joy, and, as it afterwards, turned out, to the great benefit of the Congress, Mr. Yule came to see me at my house and told me that he entirely sympathised with the cause, and that, if elected to be the President of the Congress of that year, he would

be proud of the position, and would do what he could for us. Those who had the good fortune to attend the Congress of 1888, know how manfully and how well he sustained the duties of his position ; how he pointed out that the chief plank in the Congress platform—namely, the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils of this country—was by no means an invention on the part of the Congress ; that that point had received the attention and been favourably considered and spoken of by that marvellous English statesman Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. He told us that we were treading on the footsteps of that great man, and that if we perseveringly stuck to our colours, sometime or other we should get what we wanted. From that time to the day of his death, Mr. Yule worked with us, gave us his valuable advice and helped us considerably as regards our working expenses. Pandit Ajudhianath as you know, from the time he joined the Congress, worked early, worked late, worked with the old, worked with the young, never spared any personal sacrifices, so that he might do good to his country and to the Congress, and his lamented death came upon him when he was coming back from Nagpore, after having worked there for the success of the Nagpore Congress of last year. Those who ever so slightly know Pandit Ajudhianath and Mr. Yule will never be able to forget the great services which these gentlemen rendered to the Congress cause.

From Madras we have the sad news of the death of Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar. He was an earnest worker and did yeoman service to the cause of his country. In 1885 he was one of a band of three who were deputed to go to Great Britain during the

then general election: his colleagues being Mr. N. G. Chandrawarker of Bombay and Mr. Manamohan Ghose of Calcutta and these three devoted men vied with each other as to who could do the most work for the benefit of his country. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar served on the Public Service Commission as a whole. There were some recommendations of the Commission which Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar and those worked with him did not approve; but, in order that the recommendations of which they approved might be carried into effect, he and his colleagues gave in their adhesion to them and all joined in signing the Report. I remember that the Report did not give any satisfaction to the country at large. We had discussions on the subject at the Congress of 1888, and some of us were very anxious that the report should be disavowed and that we should by a resolution tell the Government that the recommendations of the Commission did not come up to our expectations at all. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar advised us not to agitate the matter then but wait until the Secretary of State's orders were out. If, he said, the Secretary of State accepted those recommendations the matter might well be allowed to rest for some years to come; but if he did not do so, then he, Ramaswami Mudaliar, would be the first to reopen the question and carry on the agitation to the end of his life if necessary. He was a sagacious and courageous man and in him the Congress has lost a leader of eminence and earnestness. In Madras we have also lost G. Mahadev Chetty and Ramaswami Naidu both earnest Congress workers and they will be missed by their Congress friends and acquaintances. In Bengal we have had two heavy losses by the death of Prannath Pandit and Okhoy Kumar Das. Prannath

Pandit was the worthy son of a worthy father, the late Mr. Justice Sumbhoonath Pandit the first native gentleman who was appointed to the Bench of the High Court; and though he died young he was of great service to his country and to our cause and had he been spared he would have done still greater services. Okhoy Kumar Das was a younger man still but his energy was great and as a public man he outshone many of his contemporaries in lower Bengal. It was due to him that many abuses in our Court of Justice were exposed and it was due to him that Howrah owes its standing Congress Committee. We grieve for all these spirits who have passed away from us and I would beg leave on behalf of this Congress to express to their respective families our respective and reverential condolences in the great loss that has overtaken them. "Sorrow shared is sorrow soothed" says the old adage, and, if that be a fact, I have no doubt that our sympathy will go somewhat towards assuaging the grief of their families.

Gentlemen, I must now proceed to call your attention to subjects more exciting, though, with the exception of a couple of them, I am not in a position to say, they are more cheering. The first piece of cheering news I have is that Lord Cross's India Councils bill after delays which seemed to many of us to be endless has at last passed through the Houses of Parliament and received the Royal assent. From what we have been able to gather from the speeches delivered by the Viceroy during his tour in Madras it would seem that the rules under which the Act is to be given effect to, are now under the consideration of the Government of India. We all know that the Act in terms does not

658

profess to give us much but it is capable, I believe, of infinite expansion under the rules that are to be framed. If those rules are framed in the spirit in which the present Prime Minister of England understood the Act was framed and what he said was assented to by the then Under-Secretary of State for India, namely, that that the people of India were to have a real living representative in their Legislative Council, if those rules are framed in the spirit of true statesmanship, statesmanship such as one would have confidently expected from Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord William Bentinck and a host of other distinguished Anglo-Indian Statesmen who have made British India what she is. I have no doubt we shall all be glad to put away the first plank in our Congress platform, namely, the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. The spirits that seem to be abroad just now in this country however do not seem to me to give a very hopeful augury as to these rules. I am afraid that some of our rulers have been possessed with the idea that we have been progressing too fast. It is a great pity that this should be so. But if these rulers do not come up to our expectations, gentlemen, we must go on with our agitation and not stop until we get what we all think and we all believe and what is more what our rulers themselves have taught us to believe we have a right to get. (Cheers).

Another cheering event to which I have to call attention is the return of our leader, our revered leader Dadabhai Naoroji (three cheers) to sit in the House of Commons as member for, Central Finsbury. You all know it had been hoped that he would be able to come out from England to occupy the position I am now occupying. We all looked forward to his presence

amongst us with hopefulness and trust and with great satisfaction because if he had been with us we could have shown to him face to face that our confidence in him is just as high as it ever was, we could have told him by word of mouth of the great joy which spread throughout the length and breadth of India when the news of his return to the House of Commons was received, of the anxiety with which we watched the fate of the election petition which was presented against his return and how glad we were that it was at last withdrawn. And he could have carried back with him to England our message of gratitude to the Electors of Central Finsbury (cheers) and have shown them that in electing him as their representative they had also elected a representative for the people of India in the House of Commons. (Cheers). Unfortunately his opponent Captain Penton had presented that hateful petition and just at the moment that Mr. Naoroji was to have made his preparations to come out to India it was fixed to be heard. Mr. Naoroji had to stay. There was a hand-to-hand struggle and it was at last found that the number of votes for the two candidates was on a level. Captain Penton must have felt that if he went on any further his number might come down and then Mr. Naoroji would retain his seat and Captain Penton would have to pay all the cost. He thought discretion the better part of valour and prudently withdrew his petition each party paying his own cost and the seat of Mr. Naoroji is now perfectly safe. And as long as this present parliament lasts he will remain our member (cheers) and we shall get all the help, it is possible for him to give us in the cause of Indian reforms. But we must not expect too much from him. He is but one in a House of 670 members, and though he will do for us all that

prudence, good sense, vast knowledge and great eloquence can do ; yet he is single-handed. To be strong he must receive all the support he can from this country, and backed up by that support he may be able to put our case convincingly before the House. But, what we really want is not that our countrymen generally should sit in the House of Commons. Englishmen themselves find it extremely hard to find seats there, how much more must we who are "blackmen." What we want and have a right to get is that our countrymen should have the opportunity of really representing to the Government the views of the people of this country in this country. What we want is that there should be responsible Government in India. I have always felt that the one great evil of the Indian administration is that our rulers are responsible to no one outside their own consciences. That they conscientiously endeavour to do what they can for the good government of our country may be accepted as an undeniable fact and accepted with gratitude. But it is not enough that our rulers should only be responsible to their own consciences. After all they are human beings, with human frailties and human imperfections. It is necessary that they should be responsible to those over whom they have been placed by providence to rule. (Cheers.) In making these observations I have not lost sight of the fact that the Government of India, in India is responsible to the Government of India, in Westminster, and that the Government of India in Westminster is responsible to the Cabinet of the day, of which he is invariably one of the members. Nor have I forgotten that the Cabinet of the day is responsible to the House of Commons. But when you come to consider what this responsibility really is, I think, you will all agree with

me that I have not overstated the case in the slightest degree. Unless the Secretary of State for India happen to be a personage of exceptional force of character and of great determination, such as the late Prime Minister proved to be when he was in charge of the India Office, he generally, to use Burke's language says "ditto" to the Government of India in India. The Cabinet is so troubled with affairs of the vast British Empire that the members really have no time to devote to India as a body, and leave her to their colleague the Secretary of State for India. When any Indian question comes before the House of Commons, what do we see? The Cabinet of the day has always a Majority in the House, and it always finds supporters among its own party, whether they are would-be placemen or whether they are country gentlemen who go to the House of Commons as the best club in England. (Cheers). And in non-party matters—and they make it a pretence in the House of Commons to regard Indian affairs as matters non-party—in all non-party matters, the Government of the day can always rely upon a large amount of support from the opposition. (Hear, hear). There are a few members of the House of Commons who make it a point to devote a portion of their time and energies to the consideration of Indian questions. But they are only a few; they have hardly any following; and if they press any matters on the attention of the House, with any degree of zeal, they are voted down as bores by the rest of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear). Of course the case of Mr. Bradlaugh (cheers) was entirely different. He was a most masterful man, and by his mastery over his fellowmen, he attained the position for himself which he occupied in the House of Commons at the time of his death. There are but few in England like Mr. Bradlaugh. I am

662

sorry to say that since the death of that great man we have not been able to find one who possesses his capacity, possesses his knowledge, or possesses the influence which he exercised over the House of Commons. Therefore, when you consider what the responsibility of the Government of India is to the Government of England and the House of Commons you will not, I think, be able to come to any conclusion than that it is *Nil* (Hear, hear.)

By the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on lines that would allow representatives of the people to be elected to these Councils, the Government would be face to face with them. They would know, at first hand, what the real feelings and the real grievances of the people are. (Hear, hear). They would then be able to devise measures which would be in consonance with the feelings of the people, and which would get rid of their grievances. At present, the *modus operandi* is this : A Secretary thinks that a particular measure ought to be passed, and it may be taken that he honestly believes that the measure would be for the benefit of the country. He invites two or three Indian gentlemen, of eminence, with whom he is acquainted, to see him. He speaks to them in private, and gets their views, which unfortunately, in the case of these Indian gentlemen, generally coincide with the views he himself holds. (Laughter). The measure is passed. There is a great cry of indignation in the country. The answer of the Government is— "Oh, but we consulted the leaders of your Society, and it is with their help this measure has been passed." I hold that the time has passed for this sort of statesmanship. If the Government make a real effort to arrive

at what the views of the country and people generally are, I have no doubt that they will be able so to shape their policy as to give satisfaction to all concerned. This, to my mind, is the chief thing that we need. (Hear, hear). In the Councils our representatives will be able to interpellate the Government with regard to their policy and the mode in which that policy is being given effect to. My conviction is, that the weal and woe of our country is not so much dependent upon the Viceroy or the local Governor, however sympathetic and kind, but upon the officials who have to administer the law and come in contact with the people. Until there is the right of interpellation granted to us in our own Councils, there will be no true responsibility on the part of our Government. I repeat that those who are placed over us, our Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and others of lesser degree, are more or less actuated by the desire to do us good, both for their own sake as well as for the sake of the people of the country; but the system under which they work is a vicious one, and the result is, no good is really done. (Cheers).

Now, gentlemen, while a Conservative Government has given us this India Councils Bill, and a Radical constituency has sent one of our countrymen to the House of Commons, showing in the first instance some, and in the second, a great amount of liberality, here in this country, we have had in a neighbouring province a policy adopted which has made a painfully profound sensation over the whole of this vast empire a sensation which it will take a very long time to allay. In the first place, though we, in this Congress, and the country generally, have been pressing and pressing and pressing the Government not to take

away the grants for education but to increase those grants, so far as the Provinces of Bengal and Bombay are concerned, grants-in-aid of high education have been doomed. Government require, they say, money for primary education; they do not wish to spend money upon high education. I am not one of those who believe that primary education is not required. I think, it is as much required as high education. But I confess, I do not understand for a moment why it is necessary to starve high education in order that primary education may be provided for and protected (Cheers). Government ought to foster education of all kinds alike; it ought to spend its resources upon every kind of education (renewed cheers) for the people; not only primary education but technical education of all kinds and also high education. It is said,—"You who have had, and who appreciate, high education ought to maintain it yourselves." I know of no other country in which such a thing as this has been said by the Government to the people they rule over. It is one of the first duties of the Government to educate the people just as it is their duty to protect them from thieves and robbers (Cheers). If they tell the people to-day, "Go and educate yourselves," why should they not tell them to-morrow, "You are rich and can afford to keep durwans. Go and protect yourselves against thieves and robbers, we will not do so." (Cheers.)

But the sensation, to which I referred, is one not so much due to the doings of our Bengal and Bombay Governments as regards high education, as to the notification which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has lately issued, withdrawing trial by jury in serious cases from the seven Districts in Bengal, where the system of trial by jury had been in existence for some years. (Cries

of "Shame"). The plea, upon which this notification has been based, is that trial by jury has been a failure as a means for the repression of crime. (Cries of Shame, and no, no). Can it be said that if a Sessions Judge trying a case with the assistance of Assessors and without the assistance of a jury acquit a prisoner, that he is a failure as a means for the repression of crime? If that cannot be said with regard to Sessions Judges, with what justice can it be said in regard to juries? (Cheers). Those of us who have had any acquaintance with the subject, have long felt that the administration of criminal justice in this country has been extremely unsatisfactory. There has not been much said about it, because it affects people, the majority of whom are poor men—men who cannot make much noise. They submit to what takes place, grumble among their fellows and cry kismut.

Now let us see how the matter stands. While in civil cases the evidence is taken down in the language in which the witness gives it, by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, and in appeals the evidence thus taken down is made the basis of the judgment of the Appellate Court where it differs from the notes of the Judge, in criminal cases the witness is, as a rule, taken down by the presiding officer in English. Most of these presiding officers are gentlemen who come to us here from Great Britain. They, no doubt, try and learn the languages of the people they are sent out to govern, but the circumstances in which they are placed, and the circumstances in which the people of this country are placed, are such that they are compelled to live in entire isolation from one another. You may read the books of a country, you may know its

literature well, but unless you have a familiar acquaintance with the people of the country, unless you have mixed familiarly with them, it is impossible for you to understand the language these people speak. Why is there so much outcry about what is called "Babu English"? Many Babus, and in this designation I include my countrymen from all parts of India, know English literature better, I make bold to say, than many educated men in England. (Cheers). They know English better and English literature better than many continental English scholars. They know English History, as well, if not better, than Englishmen themselves. Why is it, then, that when they write English, when they speak English, they sometimes make grievous blunders? Why is it then that their composition is called stilted? Because their knowledge is derived from books only and not from contact with the people of England. If an English gentleman were to write a book or write a letter, in the Vernacular with which he is supposed to be most familiar, I am afraid his composition would bear a great family likeness to "Babu English." It would be "English Vernacular." It would contain grammatical mistakes which would even shame our average schoolboy.

Let an English gentleman, thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular of a District, speak to a native of that District. His pronunciation would be such that the native, even if educated, would find it difficult to understand him. It is gentlemen of this description who hear country-people, called as witnesses before them, give their evidence in the vernacular. How is it possible for them to understand them correctly? How much do you think of what these witnesses say to the

Judge is taken down correctly and finds a place in the Judge's notes? (Little or nothing.)

And when an appeal is preferred to the Appellate Court, it is this evidence, and this evidence alone, upon which the Judges of that Court have to act. When the District Judge tries a civil case, he has the plaint and written statement translated for him into English by his clerk. The evidence given before him is as a rule, interpreted to him by the pleaders on either side. But when the same District Judge acts in his capacity as Sessions Judge and presides over criminal trials, he, as a rule, takes down the evidence, without the aid of interpreters, in English and he charges the Jury in Jury cases in the Vernacular of the country (Laughter). The Indian Penal Code has been translated into all the Vernaculars of the country and those who know these languages and who know English I think, are agreed, that it is extremely difficult to make out what the Vernacular Penal Code means, and charging the Jury in the Vernacular means that the Judges have to explain the Penal Code to them in Vernacular—a superhuman task almost! Again, while in civil cases pleaders and particularly pleaders of position are allowed a free hand as regards cross examination, in criminal cases, particularly in cases where accused is unable to employ pleaders of eminence, but is compelled to have either junior pleaders or mukhtars, the cross-examination of the witnesses may be said almost to be a farce. The presiding officer gets impatient in a very short time, cuts short the cross-examination at his own sweet will and pleasure, and in many cases most important facts are not elicited in consequence.

(Hear, hear). While in civil appeals you, as a rule, get a patient hearing, the argument sometimes lasting for days, just think, those of you who have any experience of these Courts what takes place when criminal appeals are heard by Sessions Judges in the moffussil! They are often taken up at the fag end of the day and listened to with impatience, and then is asked the almost invariable question, as the Judge, after hearing the appeal for a few minutes, is about to rise for the day :—"Have you anything more to say; I will read the papers myself and give the decision to-morrow." The Judge rises and the poor man's appeal is over. Some appeals are dismissed and some, though this is more rare, are allowed. Again, while in civil cases there is the greatest fear that outside influence is brought to bear upon the presiding officer. The thing is inevitable when you consider that the District Magistrate is the real head of the police of the District, and that all officers trying criminal cases, except the Sessions Judge, are subordinate to him and depend on him for promotion; and as regards the Sessions Judges themselves, they may, by the system which has now been introduced of dividing the Civil Service into two branches, find themselves independent of the District Magistrate one day and his subordinate the next during the time he oscillates as acting Sessions Judge and Joint Magistrate as not unoften happens. Again, in civil cases we have the right of appeal as of course, and, if they are of sufficient value of appealing to Her Majesty in Council; in criminal cases we have to apply for leave to appeal and have our appeal only from the Sessions Judge to the High Court, and from the inferior judiciary to the Sessions Judge, and in some cases to the District Magistrates. There are many other

points to which attention may be called but I think I have said enough to convince those who are not familiar with the matter, that I was right when I said the administration of criminal Justice in this country was most unsatisfactory (Cheers). The only safeguard which accused persons have against this system in Sessions cases is trial by jury. (Hear, hear). And now the notification of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal withdraws the safeguard from the seven districts in Bengal where it existed, and the whole India has been threatened with a like withdrawal (Cries of "shame"). The question is not a provincial but an imperial one, and of the highest importance. I therefore think, it is our duty to take the question up and help our Bengal brethren to the utmost extent of our power to get back what they have lost, and to see that other parts of the country are not overtaken by the same fate (Hear, hear).

Let us for the moment consider what is the meaning of "trial by jury having failed as a means for the repression of crime". One of the learned Judges of the Calcutta High Court who was consulted upon this matter, I refer to Mr. Justice Beverly, said, that he did not think that a person bent upon committing a crime would stop to think whether, if he is detected, he would be tried by a Judge with a jury or tried by a Judge with the aid of Assessors. (Loud cheers.) Judges and juries do not sit to repress crime but to ascertain if crime has been committed, and if the jury find that crime has been committed the Judge punishes the offender (Cheers). It is the duty of the Police to see that crime is not committed, and when, in spite of their vigilance, crime is committed, to bring the offender to justice. In this country, where unfortunately the Police are not

overscrupulous as to how they get up cases, trial by jury is the most essential safeguard against injustice. Jurymen being drawn from the people themselves are better able to understand the language in which witnesses give their evidence, better able to understand and appreciate the demeanour of witnesses, the twists and turns of their answers, the rolling of their eyes, the scratching of their heads, and various other contortions of their physiognomy which witnesses go through to avoid giving straight answers to straight questions, than the Judge upon whom, unless he be an officer of exceptional and brilliant talents, they are lost (hear, hear). A former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, himself a Sessions Judge of large experience, and therefore, able to speak with authority on the subject—I allude to the late Sir A. Rivers Thompson—said in regard to jurymen, that they were more scrupulous in accepting police evidence than the Judges were, and that it was quite right that it should be so. The law allows Sessions Judges to make references to the High Court if they differ from the verdict of a jury. These references come up before the High Court, and the learned Judges of that Court have before them only the evidence recorded in English by the Sessions Judge, the evidence recorded in the Court of the committing Magistrate and the Judge's charge. Though they may be men of brilliant talents, men of great experiences, men of great conscientiousness, I still venture to think that it is impossible for them—human beings as they are—reading merely the dry bones of the evidence placed before them upon paper, to come to a correct conclusion as to whether the Judge was right or the jury were right (Cheers). If they heard the evidence given by the witnesses in their presence, their conclusion would no doubt be

accepted as more satisfactory, and if they differed from the jury it might be that the jury were wrong, but under present system how can that be done? How can it be said that when they accept the opinion of the Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judges are right and the jury wrong? And in many of these references, the High Court have accepted the verdict of the jury and differed from the recommendation of the Judge. (Cheers). The only ground for saying that the system of trial by jury has failed is, as I understand, that the High Court has in some instances differed from them, and adopted the recommendation of the Sessions Judge. I have told you, it is impossible—regard being had to the limitation of human nature—to say with confidence, who was right and who was wrong; but assuming that the jury were wrong in many instances, and that they had given improper verdicts, what is the consequence? A few more persons who would have been in jail are now free men. What then? Has there been any complaint on the part of the people of these seven Districts, that they went about in fear of their lives because by the obstinacy and perversity of jurymen, accused persons who ought to have been condemned to death had been set free? (Hear, hear). Did any one say, that he or she regarded the system with disfavour or dislike or fear? Had any one suggested, that the system should be abolished? I say emphatically, No. No complaint reached the Government from the people affected, that the system had failed.

It is the overflowing desire on the part of the Government to do good to us that has been the cause of the withdrawal of this system! Save us from our well-wishers, say I. (Loud cheers). I could have understood the action of Government if there had been

any hue and cry in the country on the subject. I could have understood it, if any representation had come from those affected to the Government; but under the circumstances this bolt from the blue I do not understand and cannot appreciate (Loud applause). It is said that trial by jury is foreign to this country. We who have cherished our Punchayat system for generations to be told that trial by jury is foreign to us, to be told so at the fag end of the nineteenth century, why, it is strange indeed! No, no, gentlmen—it was on our Punchayat system that Lord Cornwallis proceeded when in 1790 he ruled that we should have trial by jury. It was on that system that Sir Thomas Munro based his regulation which his successor promulgated in 1827. It was on that system that the Bombay Regulation on the subject was introduced, and when these Regulations were codified in 1861; it was on that system the law was based. We must have the system extended to the whole country and not withdrawn from any part of it, and we must therefore join together and agitate on the subject from one end of India to the other, and say, that this notification, which has given rise to so much discontent, was not required, and that it should be withdrawn, and withdrawn as speedily as possible, and the policy of which it is the outcome reversed (Loud applause).

I am afraid, gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I should have done. (Cries of, No, no, and go on). I have but a few more words to say, and these I shall say as briefly as I can. I said at the outset, that the Congress movement has been a great success, but it behoved us all to make it even a greater success than it is. During the jury agitation in Bengal I was greatly pained, more pained than I can describe,

by one of the apologists of the Government saying openly in his paper, that the agitation against the jury notification was of no account because it was only a "native" agitation and that no Europeans had joined it. As a matter of fact, I know from personal knowledge that a great many very respectable and independent gentlemen in Calcutta joined the movement and cordially sympathised with it. But supposing it had been otherwise? The same apologist has, day after day, pointed out that the withdrawal of trial by jury, in these seven Bengal Districts in serious cases, does not in any way touch Europeans or European British subjects. If he is right in this it is a matter of surprise that Europeans have not joined the movement. But because Europeans have not joined the movement, is a movement of the people of this country to be despised? Is our voice not to be listened to because, forsooth, to that voice has not been added the voice of our European fellow-subjects? (Hear, hear and cheers). We would welcome, welcome with open arms, all the support which we can get from our European fellow-subjects.

I believe, that so far as the non-official Europeans are concerned, their interest and ours, in this country, are the same, we all desire that there should be a development of the resources of the country and that there should be enough for all who are here, whether for a time or in perpetuity. (Hear, hear). But apart from that, why is our voice to be despised? It is we who feel the pinch; it is we who have to suffer, and when we cry out, it is said to us, "Oh! we cannot listen to you; yours is a contemptible and a useless and a vile agitation, and we will not listen to you." Time was when we, natives of the country, agitated about any matter,

with the help of non-official Europeans, the apologists of the Government used to say triumphantly, "this agitation is not the agitation of the natives of the country, but has been got up with a few discontented Europeans; don't listen to them, it is not their true voice; it is the voice of these Europeans"! But now we are told, "don't listen to them, it is their own voice and not the voice of the Europeans" (Shame). It is sad that such reflections should be published by responsible journalists pretending to be in the confidence of our rulers. I hope and confidently trust that these are not the sentiments by which any administration in India is actuated. I hope and trust that when we make respectful representations to the Government, they will be considered on their own merits whether we are joined in our agitation by our European fellow-subjects or whether we stand by ourselves; and in order that these representations of ours not only on the jury question but on other questions which touch us may succeed, it is necessary that we, in our Congress, should work and work with a will. It is not enough that you should come from long distances and be present at the annual sittings of the Congress. It is necessary, when you go back to your respective provinces and districts, that you should display the same zeal and interest there. It has been the habit to leave the whole Congress work to the Secretary. We go back to our districts and sleep over it and leave the Secretary to do all he can for the business, in the shape of getting money, and then when it is time for the Sessions to be held, we put on our best clothes, pack up our trunks and go. But that is not work. Let us all on our parts act zealously and make sacrifices. Without money it is impossible to be successful in anything, let each of us go back and help our respective Secretaries, let us try and get as much money as

we can for the success of the cause (Hear, hear). You all know that our cause has the support of some distinguished men in England, who form, what is called the Congress Committee in England. They are willing to give us their services unstintingly, ungrudgingly but you cannot expect them to give their services to us at their own expense. You cannot expect that the necessary expenses required for the hiring of rooms, for the printing of papers, for the despatch of telegrams and all other things necessary for carrying on the great cause shall be paid out of their own pockets. We must do our best to support them; we must do our best to support the cause; and if we are true to ourselves, if we are true to our principles, if we are true to our country, be assured that in the fulness of time all that you require from the benign Government of the British nation, all that you seek from them to make you true citizens, will be given to you by that nation. Loud and prolonged applause).

LAL MOHUN GHOSE

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose is one of India's greatest public speakers. He was born on 17th December 1849 in Krishnagar. His father Rai Bahadur Ram Lochan Ghose was one of the founders of the present Dacca College, and rose to be a Principal Sudder Amin in the Bengal Judicial Establishment. Young Ghose received his early education in Calcutta and passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in the first class and as the first boy in the whole Presidency. His elder brother, Mono Mohun Ghose, sent him in 1869 to England to study for the Bar. He joined the Midde Temple and was called to the Bar in 1873 and returned to India to practise at Calcutta. The first event that brought him to the front was the question of the Indian Civil Service Examination and the agitation connected with it. Mr. Surendranath Banerji had started this agitation as Secretary of the newly formed Indian Association. A delegate to represent the Indian view of the question in England became necessary. The proper person was found in Lal Mohun and he fully justified the selection made. He reached England in 1879 with huge memorials for presentation to Parliament. He secured the good-will and sympathy of Mr. John Bright in the cause he represented and forthwith began to address meetings in England. The first of these was held in Willis' Rooms in London and was a great success. Mr. Bright, who presided on the occasion, said, on rising to address, that he had nothing new to add. The effect of the address was remarkable. In twenty-four hours the Government of the day propounded and placed on the table of the House the now defunct statutory Civil Service. Of the two other interesting

677

addresses that he delivered on the occasion, one was before the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on the financial and general policy of the Government of India on 30th September 1879, Mr. S. Booth, the Vice-Chairman of the Chamber, presiding. One passage in it admirably sums up the position of India thirty years ago as much as it does the present situation. "During the century and a half," said Mr. Ghose, "that had elapsed since the foundation of the Indian Empire, England had done much to earn the lasting gratitude of India, to impress the people with the conviction that the continuance of British rule was for their benefit and safety. But, while all that was freely and ungrudgingly admitted, they could not help thinking that the Government of India had of late clearly and unmistakably manifested a desire to depart from that line of justice and generous confidence which had hitherto been followed with excellent results, and that the present administration in India was disposed to consider the people more as a hostile and newly subdued race, than the citizens of a great free and peaceful Empire, as the subjects of a Sovereign to whom they were as loyal as their English fellow-citizens."

On his return from England, he had an enthusiastic reception accorded to him at Calcutta on March 4, 1880. The late Honourable Kristo Das Paul, C.I.E., presided on the occasion and complimented Mr. Ghose on the "most satisfactory manner in which he had discharged the very delicate and responsible duty entrusted to him by his countrymen." This was followed by a public vote of thanks being passed for his services.

Mr. Ghose sailed, a few months later, once again to England to represent the wants of India. One of the

most remarkable speeches that he then made deserves special mention. It was in connection with the Anniversary of the Aborigines Protection Society, held on 19th May 1880. Mr. Ghose, whose presence as a "native of India" made an impression on the occasion, warmly criticised Sir Bartle Frere's Zulu policy. Remarking on the policy of the British towards the Zulu king long anterior to and just before the war, he said that "Englishmen are excellent judges and arbitrators when they themselves have no interest one way or the other in the subject-matter of the dispute"—a statement that was received with laughter and cheers. "But," he added, "when it is otherwise, when their own interests are concerned, they are very much like other human beings (much laughter and cheering) and hence the sound old maxim of English law that no man should be a judge in his own case." And the other speech that he made during this visit to England was on the Peace of the World before the London Peace Society, a society of which Mr. Bright was an honoured member. On his return from England early in November 1880, he was voted a public address. A crowded meeting was held in Framji Cowasji Institute on 4th November, the chair being taken by the late Hon'ble V. N. Mandlik, C. S. I. Mr. Mandlik claimed him as a Representative of Western India as well in his mission to England and reminded Mr. Ghose that it was for that reason that the address was presented to him. In reply Mr. Ghose made an excellent speech listened to with rapt attention by the audience. One sentence deserves to be inscribed here. "Believe me, gentlemen," said he, "the very first condition of success in the great national struggle in which we are at present engaged, is not only that we should be perfectly united amongst ourselves, but that English people, who are in the last resort, or at any

619

rate in the last resort but one, the arbiters of our destinies, should know that we are so united."

From this time forward Mr. Ghose began to take a prominent part in the political questions of India. Lord Ripon the new Viceroy of India repealed the obnoxious Vernacular Press Act in 1882 and in the meeting convened by the Native inhabitants of Calcutta to thank him for the gracious act, Mr. Ghose made another of his great speeches. "We find the present Government", said he contrasting Lord Ripon's with Lord Lytton's administration, "honestly anxious to promote the prosperity and the happiness of the people, to do something for the education of the masses to encourage native industry, and to try the experiment of local self-government on a new and enlarged basis." The next event in the career of Mr. Ghose brought him fresh laurels. In 1883, India was convulsed over the Ilbert Bill, in itself an indignant measure of reform in the criminal procedure of the country. Of the many meetings then held all over the country both for and against the measure, perhaps, the most remarkable was Mr. Ghose's, which is here reprinted *in extenso* in this volume. Its satire, its invective and its powerfulness have seldom been surpassed in the many political speeches that India has known during the past fifty years.

It killed a Barrister of reputation by its terrible potency. That man (we have no desire to perpetuate his name) had used foul language against Indian ladies. Mr. Ghose's ire was raised against this unmanly, unrighteous conduct of the man. "But the climax of impudence," thundered Mr. Ghose, "is reached in the next passage to which I shall call your attention. With a brutality unsurpassed, unequalled, and with a total absence of shame, he covered himself with lasting

infamy by levelling his cowardly insults against the innocent and unoffending women of this country. He dared to tell his hearers that our ladies "were used to the foul multitudes of the courts:" Let the whole country throughout its length and breadth declare with one voice what it thinks of such conduct and if the authors of these insults venture to appear in any public assembly, let their ears be greeted with one universal hiss of indignation so that stung with shame and remorse they may fly, far from the country whose air they have polluted with their pestilential breath (Cheers.)"

A few months later was Mr. Ghose again in England, this time to enter Parliament. The profound impression he had made in England by his public utterances had secured for him the good-will of many local Liberal politicians. Several constituencies offered him a seat. He chose Deptford, fought it out twice but failed. It is on record, however, that several of the English voters were most enthusiastic about his return to Parliament. But the Home Rule Bill and the Irish Votes, manipulated against him as a Liberal, at the instance of the late Mr. Parnell, did their cruel work. Else he would undoubtedly have shone as one of the most eloquent members of the Liberal party in the House, coming only next after the illustrious Gladstone and Bright. The Liberals of Deptford marked their approbation of the man by presenting him a richly illuminated address, which was presented to him publicly by Lord Ripon.

Mr. Ghose, however, had other work in England. He had the Ilbert Bill Controversy, which had been carried over to England and had in India claimed as its victim Mr. Surendranath Banerjee. In all Mr. Ghose made half-a-dozen speeches on this controversial topic at different centres in England during the years

1883-1884. "If you follow a policy," said he at the conclusion of the last of these speeches, "of justice and generosity; if by example and education, and by just and generous treatment, you raise us once more to a position not wholly unworthy of our past history, you will not only entitle yourselves to the lasting gratitude of countless millions, but you will also be conducing at the same time to the stability of the British Empire."

Mr. Ghose returned to India towards the close of 1884 and settled down once again to practise at the Calcutta Bar. As a cross-examiner he has had few equals in his profession. His arguments are terse and vigorous. He has defended numerous poor clients in the Criminal Courts of the country and got them off successfully out of their troubles. During the next few years he sat on with the reformed Councils of 1892, Mr. Ghose renewed his acquaintance with Indian politics. He was chosen by the Presidency group of Municipalities as their representative in the Bengal Legislative Council. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee supported his old friend's candidature with his well-known eloquence. To this period belongs a remarkable speech that he made on Sir Charles Elliot's Jury notification, which was instrumental in its ultimate withdrawal.

In 1903, Mr. Ghose was in recognition of his many public services chosen President of the Nineteenth Indian National Congress held at Madras. On his way down to it, he was received with marked good feeling. The address he then delivered was a masterly one. As early as 1879, Mr. Ghose had discerned the unifying forces at work in India. "The various races," he had remarked, "are being gradually welded together

into one common nationality, they are beginning to co-operate with each other in the discussion and agitation of political questions and the national pulse is beginning to bend with unison." Twenty-four years later he had the honour of presiding over the National Assembly that had taken concrete shape in six years after his prognostication. Speaking of the Congress and of the common charge that it represents the educated minority in India, he said :—

"It has been said that the Congress represents after all a 'microscopic minority.' Although this statement was first made several years ago, it is still echoed from time to time by those who are determined to disparage that movement and hold it up to ridicule. Perhaps they will be surprised to learn that an illustrious writer whose works have already occupied a prominent position in the classical literature of modern Europe has said, speaking of a country in the van of European civilization, that 'it is only the *élite* of a nation who are alive to the sentiments of glory and liberty, who appreciate noble and generous ideas and are ready to make sacrifices for them. The masses of the people desire quiet and repose, except when they are stirred up by deep and mighty passions."

Mr. Ghose is known to have been for a long number of years past engaged on a work on Napoleon and the times he lived in. He has also on hand a translation in metrical English of the well-known Bengali poem "Meghanand Bodh". As a public speaker, Mr. Ghose ranks very high amongst the orators of the day. He has spoken before large English audiences and that in the presence of orators like Bright and Rosebury. To have won the approbation of such finished speakers is no small tribute to his eloquence. A well-known

683

Colonial Premier bore unsolicited testimony to his great powers of speaking. "That black man," he said after listening to his speech on the jury notification, "Mr. Ghose speaks remarkably well. He speaks straight: he speaks to the point and knows when to stop."

Anglo-Indian agitation against the Ilbert Bill.

Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose addressed, a crowded meeting of the native citizens of Dacca on 29th March 1883, at the East Bengal Theatre, as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I confess I did not expect such a large gathering, in spite of the unfavourable weather. I am almost afraid I shall not be able to express in fitting words the various feelings which are agitating me, and my deep gratification at this unmistakable sign of political regeneration, showing that you are about to shake off the apathy of ages. Although this is my first appearance on any public platform in the capital of East Bengal, yet I don't come before you as a stranger (Cheers.) For, although I was not born amongst you, I cannot forget that East Bengal is the home of my fathers (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, it is not without some degree of pride that I make this claim. For, here was the last glorious stronghold of Hindu power. Not far from this city, and nearer still to my own ancestral home, is the site of the sad funeral pyre where the family of the last Hindu king courted a fearful death, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy whom, by reason of an unfortunate accident, they erroneously believed to be victorious. Well, their memory has survived the flames, and from the ashes of that pyre, their chaste spirits have risen immortal, like the fabled Phœnix, and they present to

us an example of female purity, of devotion to father-land, and a stern determination to prefer death to dishonor—a bright and undying example unsurpassed in the history of this or any other country. (Cheers.) Well, these are glories of the past. But, even now in these degenerate days, I am happy to think that there still exists in East Bengal a love of country, a spirit of organization, and a capacity for combined action and sustained effort which are not altogether unworthy of our past traditions. It is not for the purpose of pandering to an idle vanity that I allude to these things. I have a very different object in view. I am anxious that we should be fully alive to the responsibility which now rests upon every Native of India. The time has now arrived when all those great qualities, of which I have spoken, will be severely tested. Your own conduct must show whether or not you really deserve to be gradually admitted to your full and proper share in the administration of the country, which I rejoice to think is the settled policy of that large-hearted statesman whom God in infinite mercy has called to rule over this ancient land (Cheers). Your own conduct must furnish the best vindication of that policy and the most complete refutation of the predictions of your opponents. Remember you have opponents of various kinds. There are honorable antagonists whose fancied interests turn them against you, but who will never stoop to resort to the base weapons of calumny and vilification. Opponents of this kind we can all respect, however much we may regret that they are not far-sighted enough to see that after all there is no conflict of interest, and that in the advance of liberal ideas, in true progress, and, above all, in the impartial and equal administration of justice lies the best

hope of the permanent stability of British rule in India. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, there are others of a baser sort—a rabble rout made up partly of a few Englishmen unworthy of the name, and partly of a heterogeneous horde whom an English gentleman well-kown in Bombay has well described in verse as:—

"A motley crew
Of each possible shade, of each possible hue,
White, grey, black and brown, red, yellow, and blue,
The pucca-born Briton and Eight-anna Eu
—Rasian and Greek, Armenian and Jew."—

(Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Some of them have lately achieved an unenvied notoriety in the Town Hall of Calcutta. They have "brayed the heroes of the long-earned kind." At that time, I was detained in my village home in Vikrampore on account of some domestic business, and not having arranged for the newspapers to be sent to me as I was daily expecting to start for Calcutta, I was in entire ignorance of what had transpired for upwards of three weeks until my attention was called to a paragraph in a Vernacular newspaper. But it was only the other day when I visited this city that I had, for the first time, the opportunity of reading in your own Northbrook Hall a full report of that meeting. And when I read those speeches, I wondered how it was that our friends in Calcutta—some of whom, as you know, have no occasion to be afraid of the oratorical powers of any champion that is likely to be pitted against them in India, and who are not, in the habit of writing out their speeches, as I am informed, these redoubled orators did. (Roars of laughter.) I wondered how it was that the Calcutta people were sitting down tamely under this outrage, and how it was that public meetings had

686

not been called all over India in order to denounce in fitting language the authors of these unparalleled insults. I have been told that the citizens of Calcutta, after much anxious deliberation, decided to preserve a dignified silence. It speaks much for their moderation and temper; but I cannot agree with them. I believe there are moments in the history of a nation when the virtues of patience and forbearance may be carried too far. (Hear, hear.) This is one of those moments. Already the action of the Calcutta people has been misrepresented. A correspondent of a Bombay newspaper has telegraphed to say that the Natives have been cowed down. Therefore, I say, hesitate no more to enter the lists. Ride in fearlessly, and God-speed the right. But as you love your country, as you wish your cause to succeed, take care to confine your agitation within strictly constitutional limits. Do not imitate the pernicious example of your opponents who, calling themselves Englishmen, were not ashamed to speak the language of sedition and to suggest lines of action utterly subversive of law and order. You, on the contrary, make law and order your motto. Let our Governors, let our beloved Viceroy, let our august and gracious Sovereign herself, see with mingled feelings of surprise and gratification that by a strange irony of fate it was reserved for the Natives of India to teach the Anglo-Indian community how a peaceful and constitutional agitation should be carried on, without resort to the language of calumny, of sedition, and of menace (Cheers.)

Well gentlemen, having said thus much to explain our position and to prevent any misrepresentation, I can no longer resist the temptation of somewhat disburdening my mind on the subject of the late European meeting at Calcutta (Hear, hear). It is true the

principal offender has since then thought fit to publish a sort of an apology in the newspapers. Some of our countrymen of a more forgiving disposition than myself, and among others my esteemed friend, the Editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, have recommended that we should accept the apology which has been offered, and let bygones be bygones. But I am utterly unable to agree with my honorable friend. This apology is to my mind absolutely worthless. I will also tell you of another incident which will enable you to judge of the value of such apologies. You all remember how in connection with a recent Municipal case at Calcutta, Mr. Branson made certain grave charges against Mr. Behari Lall Gupta, the Presidency Magistrate. I don't blame him in the least for what he did on that occasion, as he was acting as Counsel under instructions from his client. But hear what happened afterwards. When the case was finished, Mr. Branson had reasons to be satisfied that his instructions were not true, and he accordingly wrote a letter of apology to Mr. Gupta, expressing his great regret that he should have been made to utter charges which, he was now convinced, were utterly groundless. Well, if the matter had rested there, nothing could be more gentlemanly or more honorable. But it did not rest there, for we find him again repeating his calumnies at the meeting in the Town Hall of Calcutta without a word of reference to his letter of apology and without explaining what had transpired since that letter was written to induce him to alter his opinion again. No, gentlemen, I beg your pardon. I was not quite accurate in saying that he repeated those charges. He had not the courage to state expressly what he had to charge against Mr. Gupta. But he accomplished his purpose in a more indirect

and cowardly manner. He left it to Mr. Keswick to repeat all those charges, and when it came to his own turn to speak he emphasised Mr. Keswick's statements in more than one sentence, full of inuendo and insinuation. We were told first of all, " if we look for tact and judgment and impartiality, then where shall we find them in all this wide world, excepting in the person of Behari Lall Gupta!" In another part of his speech he said, alluding to Mr. Gupta, " this Bengali Babu, with all his faults, wants to sit in judgment over you." Now, gentlemen, you see what this gentleman's apologies mean. He will apologise to you to-day if he thinks it desirable to do so for some reason or other, but he will re-assert or reinsinuate his calumnies to-morrow if he thinks he can do so with impunity. No, gentlemen, the memory of the foul language and unheard-of insults which were deliberately uttered on that occasion amid the shouts of a sympathising audience can never be obliterated by any apology however humble, or any retractation however complete. I am anxious there should be no difference of opinion amongst us. I will, therefore, with your permission, refer to one or two of the choicest flowers of rhetoric which were used by this consummate master of the language of Billingsgate. We are first of all told that this Bill had been introduced in order to " remove a sentimental grievance which rankled in the minds of a few blatant Bengali Babus. " But I ask you, whom would you rather call " blatant " ? The men who speak the language of reason and moderation ? Well, if we are somewhat heated and excited now, we have received ample provocation (Cheers). I ask you to whom would you rather apply the term " blatant "? To the men who lift their loyal voices in favour of

689

justice and of equality in the eye of the law, or to the man who was wicked and seditious enough to call upon Englishmen to " rise as the Athenians rose against Philip," and who, for lack of argument, vilifies a nation and calumniates individuals ? (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, we have in the next place a carefully prepared, but nevertheless a feeble paraphrase of a well-known passage in Macaulay's Essays. We are told that " what the stiletto is to the Italian, so are false charges to the Bengali ;" but those who live in glass-houses ought not to be the first to throw stones at others. It ill becomes the unblushing calumniator, who utters the falsest slanders, to talk in the same breath of false charges with stimulated indignation. But, gentlemen, the next passage is richer still. " Verily and truly," said this orator, " the jackass kicketh at the lion." If this, indeed, were the case, nothing could be more presumptuous or ridiculous. But even the jackass is not foolish enough to insult the majesty of the lion. But if the pitiful cur chooses to cover his recreant limbs with the borrowed hide of the lion then I think the kick of the jackass is his only fitting punishment (Loud cheers.) But the climax of impudence is reached in the next passage to which I shall call your attention. With a brutality unsurpassed, unequalled, and with a total absence of shame, he covered himself with lasting infamy by levelling his cowardly insults against the innocent and unoffending women of this country. He dared to tell his hearers that our ladies " were used to the foul multitudes of the Courts." Let the whole country throughout its length and breadth declare with one voice what it thinks of such conduct, and if the authors of these insults venture to appear in any public assembly, let their ears be

greeted with one universal hiss of indignation, so that stung with shame and remorse, they may fly far from the country whose air they have polluted with their pestilential breath. (Cheers.) Well, when I read this last infamous passage, I asked myself, can it be that Englishmen have sunk so low as to accept such a veritable "Yahoo" for their spokesman? (Hisses of indignation.) Can it be that any assembly of English gentlemen, with one single spark of their English honor left in them, could have listened to such language with patience? No, gentlemen, I rejoice to think it has not yet come to that. Although in the excitement of the movement some of them might have missed the point of this shameful observation which was artfully put in the midst of a very involved sentence, yet as soon as they had time for reflection, they hastened to protest against such language and to express their sense of shame at having been obliged to listen to it; and I am happy to think that men like Mr. J. Croft in Calcutta and Mr. Wordsworth in Bombay are not solitary exceptions, but represent the views of a large and honorable minority. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, one more reference to these speeches, and I have done with the subject. We are taunted several times with being a conquered race. But if we have been conquered, we have at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that our conquerors were the freeborn sons of England, and not men of a mixed race who only came into existence after the British conquest, and whose exact nationality it would be difficult to determine. Well, then, if all these old sores are to be re-opened; if the friendly feelings which have so long subsisted between the two nations, and which for so many years have been fostered and cultivated by a

succession of wise and generous statesmen, are to be rudely disturbed; if we are to be thus taunted and insulted, let it at least be done by genuine Englishmen, if they are disposed so far to abuse their privilege as conquerors, but not by Eurasians masquerading in the borrowed mantle of Macaulay. (Peals of laughter.) We will not permit any pseudo-Englishman, any Brummagem Britisher, who is "neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring," who is disowned by both England and India alike,—we will not permit such a man to slander our nation and insult our country. (No, never.) If such a person dares to hold the language of contumely and insult towards us, we shall make an example of him. We shall not disgrace our cause by doing anything unlawful or improper; but we shall only give him, free of charge, the immortality which an admiring correspondent of the *Englishman* has proposed to confer upon him by means of a statue, but it shall be the immortality of infamy. Our platforms shall ring with denunciations; our newspapers shall keep alive the memory of the outrage; and our poets shall sing of his infamy until his name shall become a bye-word and a hissing reproach to after ages and to generations yet unborn. Now, gentlemen, it has been said by the *Englishman* newspaper that we, Natives of India, have no *locus standi* in the discussion of the question; but if we are out of Court, what *locus standi* have homeless Armenians, wandering Jews, and mixed races who have neither country nor nationality? I need not tell you that Armenia is not an English county, that they have not a drop of English blood in their veins, and that they can no more claim to be European British subject than you or I can. Nor are the Eurasians much better off. The law requires that in order to

claim this privilege, you must show that you are either the son or grandson of a European British subject, born of lawful wedlock. Now, there is scarcely any of them who would not have to ascend very much higher than their grandfather in order to trace their descent from an Englishman. Then, why should these foolish Asiatics swell the ranks of this spurious and artificial agitation, forgetting that this privilege is not theirs—forgetting that, even under the existing law, they can be dealt with by any Native Deputy Magistrate just in the same way as he can deal with the meanest of his countrymen. Why should these outer barbarians cry "*Romanus civis sum?*" Why should Helots, who have no privileges whatever, shout with the Spartans? (Cheers.) But, sir, we live in strange times. The *Indian Daily News* said the other day of an Armenian speaker at the Town Hall that he was, to all intents and purposes, an Englishman. It took my breath away to read it. I asked myself "Stands England where it did?" Or has it come to this that her brave and sturdy sons have to seek for recruits and allies in Armenia? Or is a morbid hatred of the country which gives him shelter alone sufficient to convert an expatriated Asiatic into a free-born Englishman? But believe me, gentlemen, those very Europeans, who now applaud these men to the skies for shrieking with them and doing their dirty work, entertain at the bottom of their hearts no other feeling than that of contempt for these their miserable allies; and, probably, if the truth were known, the bitterest and most unreasonable Anglo-Saxon has no such unmitigated contempt for us, the pure Natives of India. Our conquerors know, at least those of them who have the slightest tincture of education and culture, know

well, that we had a bright history of our own and a rich literature still unsurpassed, and scarcely equalled when Europe was sunk in barbarism and superstition. Englishmen are too chivalrous and too great themselves not to have some respect for the fallen greatness of this country. I have no fears that Englishmen, even in India, although the heat of our climate may sometimes affect their brains, though they may have their occasional aberrations, will ever as a body permanently forget that conquerors should never be other than generous. Well, our opponents have expressed their determination to go up to the House of Commons. We will also carry our appeal to the same august Tribunal. We are content to abide by the decision of Parliamten confident that that decision will be a just one, and that it will be consonant to the noble principles on which this country has been so long governed, and, which have been solemnly enunciated in the gracious Proclamation of 1858 which we look upon as our Magna Charta. (Cheers.) But, sir, a bitter and notorious enemy of this country, Sir Fitz-James Stephen, has recently written a letter to the *Times*, urging upon the English people no longer to allow India to be governed on these principles, but to substitute for them the doctrine of pure and unmitigated force. It would be useless for me to remind him of what was said on a well-known occasion by one of England's noblest sons, Mr. John Bright (cheers),—namely, that "Force is no remedy." I say it would be useless, because a few years ago, Mr. F. J. Stephen did not even scruple to make a bitter attack upon the great Tribune, because of his noble and philanthropic views regarding the policy that ought to be pursued in this country. Within a few days afterwards, the Tories, who were then in power,

rewarded the assailant of Mr. Bright with a seat on the English bench. Well, having thus risen through dirt to dignity, he might have been content to rest upon his laurels; but no the spirit of evil is as strong in his breast as ever. One would have thought that even his appetite for mischief would have been amply satiated by the incalculable evil which he wrought during his official career in this country. He it is who was the author of this Criminal Procedure Code, bristling with hateful distinctions, only one of which it is now proposed to amend, and containing provision after provision, adverse to liberty and inconsistent with the sound and impartial administration of justice. It was he who took away from us the right of claiming the writ of Habeas Corpus, reserving it only for European British subjects. But if I were to refer to all the unjust and Draconian laws of which he was the author, I should never be done till the small hours of the morning. You also remember that he had a principal share in the institution of those Wahabi prosecutions which led to so much needless misery and suffering. In fact, his entire policy was one of repression and more repression, irritation and more irritation, until at last, by goading into frenzy a set of desperate and wicked *non-Indian* fanatics, it brought about two terrible disasters which sent a thrill of horror throughout all classes and all races of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. One of the speakers at the late meeting in Calcutta, in his anxiety to throw mud upon our people, did not hesitate to misrepresent the horrible story of the assassination of Chief Justice Norman, and the still more horrible massacre of Cavagnari and his gallant comrades. He showed his knowledge of contemporary history and geography by describing a wild Beluchi in the one instance, and a ruffianly mob

of Cabulis in the other, as natives of India. (Roars of laughter.) Well, this is taking us considerably beyond even Lord Beaconsfield's "scientific frontier." (Loud cheers.) But those who imagine that Armenia is an English county, may well be pardoned for thinking that Beluchistan and Cabul are integral portions of India. But, gentlemen, don't be afraid that these gross misrepresentations will take root. Impartial history will declare that the guilt and shame of these deeds of turpitude do not attach to India or to her people. But, besides identifying and properly describing the barbarous perpetrators of these infamous crimes, history will attach no little responsibility to the man who was the chief author of the policy which led to two out of the three deeds of horror of which I have spoken. Well, gentlemen, if Sir J. Stephen is not satisfied with the mischief he has already done—if his conscience is not vaorburdened, then nothing you or I can say is likely to make him hesitate in his baneful career. He has already richly won the curses of the Indian people which followed him across the seas, but for achievements like his there can be no fitting or truly adequate reward excepting in the world to come (Cheers).

I will now hasten to dwell upon one or two other topics, to which I think it absolutely necessary to draw your attention. You are aware that Mr. Stanhope has given notice of a motion in the House of Commons to the effect that this Bill is calculated to inflame the jealousies of race. Now, no one can regret such a result more deeply than we, the Natives of India, who understand our interests too well ever to harbour in our hearts the traitor wish to see the foundations of the empire sapped by antipathies of race; and nothing could be more diametrically opposed to the intention of the noble

statesman whose truly liberal policy has earned the lasting gratitude of the people of this country, and which will be hereafter regarded as the brightest page in the history of British India (Cheers). This is an attempt —a barefaced attempt—to father the sins of the opponents of the measure on its authors. The entire administration of Lord Ripon has been a noble and sustained effort, carried on amid unparalleled difficulties of which we now have a glimpse, but for which, I frankly and regretfully confess, some of us, in our impatience for reforms, have not, at all times made sufficient allowances. I say the present administration is a sustained effort to extinguish the last lingering sparks of race antagonism, and to inaugurate slowly and cautiously the reign of constitutional freedom of justice and of equality. To cast such imputations upon such a statesman can only redound with treble force upon those who make these aspersions. Nor can it be said, gentlemen, that we have stirred up this strife? It has not been of our seeking, nor have we done anything to provoke the ceaseless torrent of invective that has been poured upon us. Already the better classes of Englishmen have begun to express their indignation that some of their compatriots cannot bear to contemplate the smallest measure of justice towards the Natives of this country without being roused into a state of ungovernable frenzy. Well, then, what shall we say of the authors of this wanton and unprovoked strife now attempting to turn round, and to fasten the blame of their own conduct on the Government and on the Natives of India? To those who shed these crocodile tears, my answer is, "If your pretensions are so utterly hollow, if you will only consent to wear the mask of friendship and to bespatter us with your insulting patronage so long as we are

content to grovel at your feet, then the sooner the mask is plucked off your faces, the better. We prefer that you should stand revealed in your true colors, and that we should know whom we have to deal with. Then delude us no more with your shallow pretences, your Christian professions of brotherhood, and your philanthropic missions—your *soirees* and At-Homes, and all the other cheap devices to win an undeserved popularity. Above all, do not blame Mr. Illbert's Bill, which has only, like Ithuriel's spear, compelled you to assume your proper forms. Well, sir, I confess that at the commencement of this discussion we took but a languid interest in this Bill, because we looked upon it as only a small instalment of a large debt of justice still due to us. If our zeal has been kindled, if our interest has now become intense, it is not only because our feelings have been cut to the quick by unparalleled insults, but because a broader issue has been raised,—namely, whether India is to be any longer governed on the principles laid down in the Proclamation of our gracious Queen, or whether that great Charter of our people is to be rescinded and torn up. It is because an attempt has been made, both here and in England, to shift the foundations of the Empire from the willing and loving allegiance of the Natives of India, and to recognise nothing but brute force in the government of 250 millions of Her Majesty's subjects. That is an issue in which we are all deeply and vitally interested. But, gentlemen, I am not afraid that these unworthy counsels will prevail with the English nation or with a liberal House of Commons. Those who, like myself, have had the good fortune of visiting England, of having lived there for years, and who have had ample opportunities of recognizing the noble and generous instincts of that

great nation, have not been dismayed or taken aback by the furious hostility of a handful of men who are unable to rise to an appreciation of their duties, and who only look upon this country as a sort of plunder-ground, created for their special benefit (Cheers). Depend upon it, these men and their unworthy sentiments will be repudiated by the bulk of their countrymen in England. One word more, and I have done. Although this great fight will be fought in the House of Commons, we should not sleep over our rights. We should do all that lies in us to strengthen the hands of our numerous friends and well-wishers in England and in Parliament by refuting the calumnies and misrepresentations with which it is sought to darken the real issue of the case. We should have a comprehensive organization, such as been suggested in the columns of the *Indian Mirror*, embracing every presidency, every city, and every hamlet in this country. That organization should be in constant communication with our friends in England, and it should be prompt to contradict every misleading telegram that may be sent to the London *Times* by a correspondent who holds a lucrative office under the only Local Government that is hostile to this measure, and whose favour Lord Ripon, unlike his immediate predecessor, will not condescend to court. Let us make a grand effort such as is sure not only to deserve, but to command success. Approach St. Stephen's and the foot of the Throne, offer your humble thanks to your beloved Sovereign for having given you a Viceroy than whom a nobler statesman never ruled over this country, and pray, from the bottom of your hearts, that his policy may be supported in England and that he himself may be spared to reign over us for some years to come (Loud cheers).

Swadeshi Movement and Partition.

GENTLEMEN,—We have met together on a most momentous occasion. I must tell you frankly that, although I am no novice in public life, it was not without considerable hesitation that I accepted the honour of presiding at this meeting. And why did I hesitate? Not because I was lukewarm in the cause but because I felt distrustful of my own ability to be your spokesman on such a critical occasion. Gentlemen, when Lord Curzon came out as Viceroy of India and deluded us with some of his eloquent speeches and mellifluent phrases and flattered us by calling us his Aryan brethern, we, poor, simple, credulous Indians, "lent a too credent ear" to his seductive voice and believed that he had been sent to India as a blessing to our poor country. How far that expectation has been realised, or whether Lord Curzon has proved the reverse of a blessing to us, I shall not presume to pronounce. I shall leave that question to posterity and to history, and also to the still small voice of Lord Curzon's own conscience when he is in the retirement of his palatial island-home. Lord Maculay, in whose local residence in Calcutta the retiring Viceroy is so much interested, said in the British House of Commons, in a celebrated speech, which will live as long as the English language lasts and with which Lord Curzon must be perfectly familiar, that if the English nation desires to govern a great country, with a civilization more ancient than their own, their ambition should be not that the people of India should make lowly salaams to English officials but that the English people should aim

t the regeneration of a great nation, with a great history and that would be the greatest triumph of their ule. But after all, what has been the result of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty ? Has he succeeded in enhancing he loyalty of the Indian people to the British nation ? How is loyalty to be strengthened in India where an alien race rules over countless millions of people with an ancient history and with traditions and with a past, described only the other day by the Viceroy himself as mysterious ?

My own ideas on the subject were freely expressed many years ago at a dinner at the National Liberal Club when the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, was President. While responding to the toast of India, I said :— "My Lord, in proportion as you pursue a policy of justice and provide a legitimate field for the gratification of our growing aspirations, you will place the loyalty of the Indian people on a firm and sure foundation." (Hear, hear). And gentlemen, I was glad to find that my opinion met with the unanimous approval of the entire audience of whom the majority was composed of Members of Parliament. My sentiments continue to be the same. At the same time having grown grey in your service, I might have reasonably expected that at this late period of my life you might have left me alone ; because even on the continent of Europe, after a certain age, old men are left out of the conscription (Laughter.) But I also feel that this is such an important national crisis that although entitled, by reason of age, to retire from the political arena, I feel that I should be wanting in my duty to my country if I did not consent to relinquish the privileges that I may have already earned. I have

always consistently throughout my public life told you, my fellow-countrymen, that I have ample faith in the just instincts of the British people (Applause). That faith still continues unabated in spite of recent events. I have every reason personally to be grateful to the English people, but great and unabated as is my faith in the justice of the British nation I am bound to warn you that men do not, any more than Providence itself, shower blessings upon those who are not prepared to help themselves (Hear, hear.) Therefore, it is that I am rejoiced to find that you gentlemen have started this Swadeshi movement, which, if kept up and persevered in, is calculated to be so beneficial to our country (Loud cheers.) Let me, however, take this opportunity of telling our non-official English friends that this movement does not owe its origin to any feeling of resentment or revenge, (hear, hear) that it has no necessary connection with the Partition question, and that as a matter of fact it was started long before the last burning question was suddenly sprung upon the unfortunate people of Bengal. The first and main object of this movement is to develop the resources of our country and to revive the indigenous industries which have been killed by the pressure of foreign competition, and, I am compelled to add, by means of legislation which to say the least no one would come forward and defend to-day.

But if, at the same time, this Swadeshi movement is also calculated prominently to draw the attention of the British public to Indian political questions, which usually do not come home to them, because it is such a far cry from India to England, then it would be still more beneficial (Applause.) It was said by the Corsican patriot, Paoli, that the English are a nation of

shopkeepers,—a statement often erroneously attributed the great Napoleon. However, it is an undoubted fact that the English people are a mercantile nation and everyone knows that you cannot draw the attention of "Bannias" to any question whatever which does not directly or indirectly affect their commerce or their trade.

At the same time, gentlemen—and I now specially address myself to the younger portion of my audience and I appeal to you with all the earnestness I can command, to remember that any use of force or violence is not only to be entirely deprecated, but that it will assuredly deprive us of the sympathy of many influential friends and throw back our cause by many a long year (Hear, hear).

I now come to the last point which we are met together to discuss, that is the shabby trick played by Mr. Brodrick both upon India and the House of Commons. In my younger days, I had the ambition, as you are aware, of serving my country by entering the British House of Commons. But although like the leader of a forlorn hope, I myself failed in the attempt, my political corpse, so to speak, served as stepping stone to those of my countrymen who afterwards succeeded in scaling the walls of St. Stephen's. I have only parenthetically reminded you of this incident in my personal career, because on that occasion I was obliged to carefully study the procedure of Parliament. At that time, the great men in Parliament on both sides were immeasurable giants. Gladstone and Bright, (loud cheers), Northcote and others upheld the high traditions of the British Parliament which until recently were held in the greatest esteem by the

whole of the civilized world. In those days, we had no such pitiful spectacle as tricksters amongst Cabinet Ministers. Yet, gentlemen, we are told that we have to learn veracity from the West (Laughter and loud cheers). It seems to me that some of these apostles of Western truthfulness ought to brush up their study of European history in order to learn that the Western standard of veracity is by no means higher than what they are pleased to call Oriental Diplomacy (Hear, hear). The official position of some of these gentlemen is too high for an humble individual like myself to presume to engage in a personal contest with them but if in the political arena, all men with the requisite knowledge are equally qualified to enter the lists, then I should like very respectfully to remind them of a few historical facts. Are they aware that when in the early part of the Nineteenth Century the Emperor of the French appointed one of his favourite Generals as ambassador to the Court of Lisbon, the General went to the Emperor and begged to be relieved of his new dignity on the ground that he was a blunt and truthful soldier and he could not stoop to the tricks and wiles of diplomacy? To this Napoleon, no mean Judge of character, replied, "My friend, be what you have ever been—a blunt, frank and truthful soldier." Truth is the best agent of diplomacy (Hear, hear). We also know that, sixty-five years later, Prince Bismark openly and cynically boasted that he himself had found that the best way of deceiving the Court of France was by telling the truth. We also have on the authority of Lord Rosebury in his work on Napoleon that truth was not considered at all important in Continental Europe. Lord Rosebury as a patriotic Englishman excepts his own country from the condemnation which he pronounces against the continent of Europe.

But we have other evidence to show that English statesmen are no more free from this imputation than the statesmen of continental Europe. The late John Bright said on a famous occasion, speaking of Mr. Disraeli, that the Rt. Hon'ble gentleman's historical references were not to be found in any known historical work but that he seemed like the spider to spin a yarn and with that yarn to weave a web and with that web to catch flies (Laughter) and the only difference with which Mr. Bright was struck, was that the Tory fly seemed to like being caught. I now come to a later instance, that of Lord Salisbury, the last Tory Prime Minister, when he was Foreign Secretary. Upon its being rumoured that the Cyprus Convention had been arranged, there was a great agitation in the public press, both Conservative and Liberal. In answer to a question put to him in the House of Lords, he solemnly rose in his place and assured his peers that there was no foundation whatever for the rumour in the newspapers. His assurance was received with cheers in the House of Lords. But within a day or two one of the confidential clerks of the Foreign Office divulged to the world the startling fact that at the very moment the noble Marquis was assuring the House of Lords that the rumour was unfounded, he had the draft of the Convention in his pocket. Charles Marvin was, I believe, dismissed from the Foreign Office, but the English vocabulary was enriched. A vulgar word disappeared at last from fashionable usage and there came into existence the aristocratic word Salisbury (Laughter). Well, neither H. E. the retiring Viceroy nor his official superior Mr. Brodrick can disavow their great leaders Disraeli and Salisbury. Such are the traditions with

which they have got to struggle. But, apart from this, how are they themselves entitled to teach us lessons of truth? The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* has sufficiently dealt with His Excellency Lord Curzon. I only desire to say only one word about Mr. Brodrick. What has been his conduct in the House of Commons? On one occasion he assured the House when he was in receipt of a conditional resignation from Lord Curzon, that there was no foundation in the rumour that the Viceroy had sent in his resignation. Under what code of ethics could such a statement be justified? If such is the standard of Western veracity I am glad that ours is different. On a later occasion he promised to supply the House with the necessary information to enable it to form its judgment and yet without keeping his word and behind the back of the House of Commons he has sanctioned the scheme of partition in a most indecent hurry. He has thus violated all the traditions of the mother of Parliaments and done his best to destroy the high reputation which the British Parliament has so long enjoyed, not only within its own dominion but in all foreign lands.

BUDRUDIN TYABJI

Budrudin Tyabji

Of the many great sons that India has produced in modern times, Mr. Budrudin Tyabji deservedly holds a high place. He belonged to a much respected Arab family settled long ago at Bombay. His father, Tyabji Bhai Miyan Saheb, was a prosperous merchant and cultured gentleman with refined tastes. Mr. Tyabji was born on 8th October 1844. He received his early education at Dada Makhra's Madrassa where he learnt Urdu and Persian. He then entered the Elphinstone Institution (now College) at Bombay, the nursery of many a western Indian patriot. He was not, however, long there when his father sent him to France for treatment of the eye. From there he went across to England and in 1860 joined the Newbury High Park College, London. He matriculated at the London University, but had to return to India immediately afterwards, owing to failing health. In 1865, after a year's stay at his paternal home, he returned to England and joined the Middle Temple and was called to the Bar in April 1867. In November following, he returned to India and was in December next enrolled an Advocate of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. His brother, Camurdin Tyabji, was an Attorney of the same Court and so Tyabji commenced his legal career under better auspices than most other men of the time. The Bar then was mostly made up of European lawyers and Tyabji had up-hill work to do before he won recognition. His application to work was great and his fluency of speech and skilful

advocacy soon brought him to the front. He early made a name for himself as a searching and capable cross-examiner. An incident mentioned by Mr. Rarekh well shows the respect he had won for himself from the eminent Sir Michael Westropp, then Chief Justice of Bombay. That Judge presided over a Criminal Sessions, in which Mr. Tyabji defended a prisoner. He conducted the case ably and obtained from the Jury a verdict of "not guilty," in favor of his client, who was accordingly acquitted. The next morning the *Bombay Gazette* described in unworthy terms his speech for the defence. Justice Westropp, however, publicly repudiated the criticism. "My Tyabji," he said, "I am glad to see you here, and also the Reporter of the *Bombay Gazette*, as I wish to make some observations upon the report of the case which was concluded yesterday. The paper represents you to have made "a rigmarole and nonsensical speech" in defence of your client. As these remarks are not only unfair but likely to do harm to a young Barrister I deem it my duty to observe that, in my opinion, there is not the slightest foundation for those remarks. I consider the case was most ably conducted by you, and that the acquittal of the prisoner was mainly due to the ability and skill with which you addressed the jury."

The first decade in the public life of Mr. Tyabji after he joined the Bar was one of incessant work in Chambers and in Court. The second decade commenced with the addition of new responsibilities. In May 1879, he joined other prominent citizens of Bombay in memorialising Parliament against the abolition of the import duties on Manchester goods. That speech was hailed with applause from every quarter and was but the forerunner of many another from the fluent

tongued young Mahomedan of thirty-five. In 1882, Sir James Fergusson, then Governor of Bombay, appointed him an additional member of the Legislative Council. He took a prominent part in the debates of the Bombay Local Boards and Municipalities Bills. His speeches established for him a reputation for close reasoning, sober judgment, lucid exposition and magnetic eloquence. Sir James, as President of the Council, publicly complimented him for his admirable speeches which, he remarked, would have been listened with rapt attention even by such an august Assembly as the British House of Commons. Thenceforward, Mr. Tyabji became a great favourite with Bombay audiences. He was in request at every public meeting convened in that great town. Amongst the speeches he then made must be singled out three which even now may be read with the greatest delight. These are—his speech on the Indian Civil Service question delivered in 1883 in the Framjee Cowasjee Hall, his speech on the Native Jurisdiction Bill delivered in the same year in the Town Hall at Bombay and in the same historic Hall the speech he made on Lord Ripon's memorable administration in December 1884. They have one and all been declared to be models of chaste eloquence. Only one extract from the last of these three deserves to be set down here. "Amongst so many beneficent measures," said he speaking of Lord Ripon's Local self-Government scheme, "any single one of which would suffice to render Lord Ripon's administration illustrious there was one which stood forth pre-eminent, and which would render Lord Ripon's name immortal in the annals of this country (Loud cheers). It was the scheme of Local self-Government. It was, indeed, difficult to

710

appreciate, at present, the full extent of the blessing which such a momentous scheme as that was calculated to confer upon India. Much would depend upon the manner in which it was adopted by the various local Governments and administrations. A great deal must necessarily depend upon the people themselves, and not a little upon the encouragement, support and countenance it might receive at the hands of local officials. But of this, at least he felt convinced, that it was a scheme which was eminently calculated to raise them in the scale of political education, to draw closer together the bonds between the official and the non-official classes, to bring into harmony the Europeans and the Natives, to attach the people of this country to their dear Sovereign."

Mr. Tyabji's public services were recognised by his countrymen by conferring on him the Presidentship of the Congress in 1887. That was the first Madras Congress. The masterly address he then delivered is remarkable for this that it showed he had the fire of the orator in him. He was at the time a member of the Bombay Anjuman-i-Islam and his acceptance of the Congress principles and politics showed once for all that there was nothing in it to be afraid of by his brethren in religion. He ever afterwards stood firm to the Congress cause. Once, it is well-remembered, he administered a well-merited rebuke from his seat on the Bench to a person who spoke ill of it. In 1903, presiding over the deliberations of the Mahomedan Educational Conference he openly declared that it had not been for him so far "to take any part in connection with any institution which had or could be supposed to have the slightest trace of being hostile or

antagonistic to the Congress." He was of opinion that the Government, though it did not openly profess its sympathy with the Congress, had really at heart a very high opinion of it and its members and gave effect from time to time to its Resolutions. "Government are," he said, "desirous of giving effect to them (the Congress Resolutions) and to the desires of the nation as expressed through the Congress." But he believed firmly moderation of demands and speech and caution at the employment of language. "Our countrymen," he once remarked, "have not wholly realised the distinction between 'licency' and 'liberty' and have not wholly grasped the fact that 'freedom' has its responsibilities no less than its privileges."

Mr. Tyabji was a pioneer in the social reform movement among the Indian Mahomedans. He was even of opinion that Indians as a whole, both Hindus and Mahomedans, paid greater attention to political than to social reform. "I am afraid," he remarked once, "that young India has fixed its attention too exclusively upon politics, and too little upon education and social reform. I am one of those who think that our improvement and progress lies not in our efforts simply in one direction, but in various directions, and that we ought to move side by side for the purpose of improving our social status and our educational status quite as much as our political status. It is no use labouring together for a representative Government of a very advanced type if the majority of our countrymen are still steeped in ignorance, and experience shows that the majority of the Indian subjects have not appreciated the advantages of that higher education upon which, I think, the fate of our nation really rests." He

set a personal example in social reform by commencing its practice in his own family. His own daughters went and studied in England. But his best work for his co-religionists was done by him in his capacity of Secretary and afterwards as President of the Bombay Anjuman-i-Islam, an organisation which has helped the spread of Western education amongst Mahomedans. At the time it was started Bombay had hardly any educated Mahomedans and if now there are numbers of them, the result is in no small measure due to the unremitting zeal of a single man—Mr. Badruddin Tyabji.

His work as a public man and his greatness as a lawyer was recognised by Government in 1895, when it offered him a judgeship of the High Court of Bombay. In his new capacity Mr. Tyabji had shone equally well. His tenure of office as Judge was marked by a sturdy independence which was all his own. His action in granting bail to Mr. Tilak when the first case was launched against him ten years ago is enough to show this remarkable trait of the man. On the Bench he was cool and judicious and to the Bar he was ever courteous. His intimate knowledge of business life in Bombay enabled him to penetrate deep into the heart of litigation and the quickness with which he made up his mind on matters of law and fact was highly creditable. His judgments are remarkable for the vigor and force of language. He marshals his facts with extraordinary lucidity, and whatever conclusions he arrives at are the results of his reflection and study of the subject of the case.

Mahomedans all over India conceived it their duty in 1903 to request him to preside over the deliberations

of their educational Conference, which in that year assembled at Bombay. Mr. Tyabji responded to the call and the address he then delivered was quite characteristic of him. It was open-hearted, and independent and made a powerful plea for the slackening of the rigour of the purdah system. It was in this speech that he said that so far he had found it impossible to sympathise with any movement that might be supposed to have the slightest trace of being hostile to the Congress—a well meant repudiation of the principles of the Aligarh politicians ! He took a kindly interest in the Aligarh College, however, for education was ever his theme with his co-religionists. While in England in 1906, he attended the dinner of the College Association and pleaded for its funds. He was in favor of turning it into a University with Schools and Colleges everywhere in the peninsula to feed and maintain it in vigour. He pointed out on the occasion the great necessity for and not neglecting female education which so far has made little headway in Northern India. "Permit me," he said, "the friendly criticism that they seem to have greatly neglected the cause of female education. This is a reproach to men of their enlightenment, and I have noticed with the greatest pleasure that recently efforts have been made to remedy that state of things. This is a reform in respect to which my Mussulman friends in the North may not despise to take a leaf out of the book of their co-religionists in Bombay. I need only add that I hope the College will develop into a real centre of Moslem education and enlightenment not merely for the North-west but for all India. There is not a Mussalman in India, certainly not in Bombay, who does not wish all prosperity and success to Aligarh." His culture and

love of education pervaded even his religion. Speaking at the East India Association in the year of his death, he made pointed reference to the old-fashioned manner in which Mahomedans yet made their bequests. "Look at the Mussulmans," he remarked, "I have often in my judicial capacity had to deal with wills made and executed by my own people, and I have found that a very wealthy individual who dies, if he has no near relations, his one idea is to devote his fortune to some old-fashioned charity—such as the feeding of fakirs, the building of old-fashioned tanks, or making pilgrimages to Mecca, or reading so many hundreds of times the pages of the Koran, or things of that kind—very excellent things in themselves, but which, unfortunately, do not advance the fortunes of a nation. Now, if when young India becomes old and is about to make its will, it will only remember, instead of leaving their fortunes to these old-fashioned charities, to devote their fortunes to the advance of education, I think we should have very much less cause of complaint against Government, because probably we should be able to do that ourselves which we now ask Government to do."

In 1906, Mr. Tyabji's old eye complaint re-appeared. He sailed to England early in that year and there put himself under medical treatment. In a few months, his health improved rapidly and he was strong enough to take an active part in meetings connected with India. The speeches referred to above were made at this time, and they show the old vigour, spirit and love of country that pervades his earlier deliverances. But, unknown to all, except his own doctor, he was suffering from an affection of the

heart to which he succumbed on 19th August 1906. In him India lost a

> "Glorious model of a mighty creed
> Where all mankind is one united whole
> Wherein nor caste nor race distinctions breed
> Dissensions internecine full of dole."

All the prominent Mahomedans present in England attended the Memorial Service held on 22nd August. At the public meeting which followed it, the Turkish Consul-General presided and a Resolution was passed expressing heart-felt sorrow at the loss the community had sustained by his death. Speaking of the catholicity of the sympathy shown by him, Mr. Yusuf Ali, I. C. S., justly observed that no Mahomedan was better beloved among the Hindus than he was. The strength of his position lay in this—that he never divorced social ideals from his most ardent political dreams. He was always sincere and what he preached he practised, carrying out in public and in family life the ideals and principles he so consistently advocated. Perhaps, no better tribute can be given him than that which is contained in the Resolution of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress passed at a meeting a week after his death. The Resolution was proposed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and seconded by Mr. Gokhale, both Bombay men and, perhaps, the best entitled to speak of him. "The British Committee of the Indian National Congress," the Resolution went, "desire to record their deep sense of the loss sustained by India in the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tyab ji. The administration of justice found in him a wise and learned Judge, while he was an unfailing supporter of every good

716

movement tending to the peace, progress, and welfare of the Indian people. No less do they lament the loss of a private friend, whose goodness of heart and genial sympathy had endeared him to all who had the privilege of his acquaintance." So true, so simple and yet so just. Mr. Tyabji's body was embalmed and brought by steamship to Bombay and from there conveyed to Badar Bagh in solemn procession to the graveyard and there interred after due performance of the religious rites prescribed for the occasion. So passed away a true and a great Indian and when shall we see the like of him again?

THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1887.

Presidential Address of Mr. B. Tyabji.

RAJAH SIR T. MADHAVA RAO AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you most sincerely for the very great honour you have done me by electing me President of this great national assembly (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, it is impossible not to feel proud of the great distinction you have thus conferred upon me, the greatest distinction which it is in your power to confer upon any one of your countrymen (*Loud and continued applause.*) Gentlemen, I have had the honor of witnessing great public meetings both in Bombay and elsewhere, but it is quite a novel sensation for me to appear before a meeting of this description—a meeting composed not merely of the representatives of any one city or even of one province—but of the whole of the vast continent of India,—representing not any one class or interest but all classes (*hear, hear, and applause*) and all interests of the almost innumerable different communities that constitute the people of India (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I had not the good fortune to be present at the proceedings of the first Congress, held in Bombay in 1885, nor had I the good fortune to take a part in the deliberations of the second Congress, held in Calcutta last year. But, gentlemen, I have carefully read the Proceedings of both those Congresses, and I have no hesitation in declaring that they display an amount of talent, wisdom and eloquence of which we have every reason to be proud. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, from the proceedings of the two past Congresses, I think we are fairly entitled to hope that the proceedings of this present Congress will not only be

marked by those virtues, but by that moderation and by that sobriety of judgment which is the offspring of political wisdom and political experience (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, all the friends and well-wishers of India, and all those who take an interest in watching over the progress and prosperity of our people, have every reason to rejoice at the increasing success of each succeeding Congress. At the first Congress in Bombay, in 1885, we had less than 100 representatives from the different parts of India, in the second Congress, at Calcutta, in 1886, we had as many as 440 representatives, while at this Congress, I believe, we have over 600 delegates (*applause*) representing all the different parts and all the different communities of this great empire. I think, then, gentlemen, that we are fairly entitled to say that this is a truly representative national gathering. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Indeed, if that tentative form of representative institution which has so often been asked for from Government, were granted to us, I have not the smallest doubt but that many of the gentlemen I now have the honor of addressing, would be elected by their respective constituencies to represent their interests (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, it has been urged in derogation of our character, as a representative national gathering, that one great and important community—the Mussulman community—has kept aloof from the proceedings of the two last Congresses. Now, gentlemen, in the first place, this is only partially true, and applies only to one particular part of India, and is, moreover, due to certain special, and local, temporary causes *(hear, hear, and applause)*, and in the second place, no such reproach can, I think, with any show of justice, be urged against this present Congress, *(applause)* and gentlemen, I must

honestly confess to you that one great motive which has induced me, in the present state of my health, to undertake the grave responsibilities of presiding over your deliberations, has been an earnest desire, on my part, to prove, as far as in my power lies, that I, at least, not merely in my individual capacity, but as representing the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay *(loud applause)*, do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position or the relations of the different communities of India,—be they Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsees, or Christians—which should induce the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from the others in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights, which are for the common benefit of us all *(hear, hear, and applause)* and which, I feel assured, have only to be earnestly and unanimously pressed upon Government to be granted to us. Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount—but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India, such as those which alone are discussed by this Congress—are concerned, I, for one, am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussulmans should not work shoulder to shoulder *(hear, hear, and applause)* with their fellow-countrymen, of other races and creeds, for the common benefit of all *(Applause.)* Gentlemen, this is the principle on which we, in the Bombay Presidency, have always acted and from the number, the character, the position, and the attainments of Mussulman delegates from the Bengal Presidency and from the Presidency of Madras, as well as from the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, I have not the smallest doubt that this is also the view held, with but

few, though, perhaps, important exceptions, by the leaders of the Mussulman communities throughout the whole of India (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Gentlemen, it has been urged as a slur upon our loyalty that this Congress is composed of what are called the educated natives of India. Now, if by this it is intended to be conveyed, that we are merely a crowd of people with nothing but our education to commend us, if it is intended to be conveyed that the gentry, the nobility, and the aristocracy of the land have kept aloof from us, I can only meet that assertion by the most direct and the most absolute denial (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) To any person who made that assertion I should feel inclined to say, come with me into this Hall (*applause*) and look around you, (*applause*) and tell me where you could wish to see a better representation of the aristocracy not only of birth and of wealth, but of intellect, education, and position, than you see gathered within the walls of this Hall (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, if no such insinuation is intended to be made, I should only say, that I am happy to think that this Congress does consist of the educated natives of India (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, I, for one, am proud to be called not only educated but a "native" of this country (*Applause, and hear, hear.*) And, gentlemen, I should like to know where among all the millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India are to be found more truly loyal, nay, more devoted friends of the British empire than among these educated natives (*Loud and continued applause.*) Gentlemen, to be a true and a sincere friend of the British Government, it is necessary that one should be in a position to appreciate the great blessings which that Government has conferred upon us, and I should

like to know who is in a better position to appreciate these blessings—the ignorant peasants or the educated natives? Who, for instance, will better appreciate the advantages of good roads, railways, telegraphs and post offices, schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, good laws and impartial courts of justice?—the educated natives or the ignorant peasants of this country? (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, if there ever were to arise—which God forbid—any great struggle between Russia and Great Britain for supremacy in this country—who is more likely to judge better of the relative merits of the two empires? (*Hear, hear.*) Again I say, gentlemen, that in these matters it is the educated natives that are best qualified to judge, because it is we who know and are best able to appreciate—for instance,—the blessings of the right of public meeting, the liberty of action and of speech, and high education which we enjoy under Great Britain, whereas, probably, under Russia we should have nothing but a haughty and despotic Government whose chief glory would consist in vast military organization, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits (*Applause.*)

No, gentlemen, let our opponents say what they please, we, the educated natives, by the mere force of our education, must be the best appreciators of the blessings of a civilized and enlightened Government, and, therefore, in our own interests, the best and staunchest supporters of the British Government in India (*Applause.*) But gentlemen, do those who thus charge us with disloyalty stop for a moment to consider the full meaning and effect of their argument,—do they realize the full import and significance of the assertion they make? Do they understand that, in charging us with disloyalty, they are, in reality,

722

condemning and denouncing the very Government which it is their intention to support *(Hear, hear, loud and continued applause.)*? For, gentlemen, when they say that the educated natives of India are disloyal, what does it mean ? It means this : that in the opinion of the educated natives,—that is to say, of all the men of light and leading, all those who have received a sound, liberal and enlightened education, all those who are acquainted with the history of their own country and with the nature of the present and past governments, that in the opinion of all these—the English Government is so bad that it has deserved to forfeit the confidence and the loyalty of the thinking part of the population. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Now, gentlemen, is it conceivable that a more frightful and unjust condemnation of the British Government can be pronounced than is implied in this charge of disloyalty against the educated natives of India ? Gentlemen, if this charge were brought by some bitter enemies of Great Britain, if it were brought by the Russians, for example, I could understand it *(Hear, hear)*. But it is almost beyond my comprehension that it should come, not from enemies, but from the supposed friends of the British Government *(loud laughter, and hear, hear)*, not from the Russians, but from Englishmen *(hear, hear)*, who presumably want, not to destroy, but to support their Government ! I say it surpasses my comprehension. (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, just consider for a moment the effect of this reckless allegation upon the uneducated millions of the inhabitants of this country, upon the hordes of the Russians in the North, and upon the enlightened nations of Europe ! I say, therefore, that the conduct of those who thus recklessly charge us with disloyalty resembles the conduct of the " foolish woodman " who was lopping off the very

branch of the tree upon which he was standing (*hear, hear, loud applause and loud laughter*) unconscious that the destruction of the branch meant the destruction of himself. (*Applause and laughter.*)

Happily, however, gentlemen, this allegation is as absurd as it is unfounded. It is as unjust to us as it is unjust to the Government it impeaches. But though, gentlemen, I maintain that the educated natives, as a class, are loyal to the backbone (*hear, hear*) I must yet admit that some of our countrymen are not always guarded, not always cautious, in the language they employ. I must admit that some of them do sometimes afford openings for hostile criticisms, and I must say that I have myself observed in some of the Indian newspapers and in the speeches of public speakers, sentiments and expressions which are calculated to lead one to the conclusion that they have not fully realised the distinction between license and liberty; that they have not wholly grasped the lesson, that freedem has its responsibilities no less than its privileges (*Hear, hear*). And, therefore, gentlemen, I trust that not only during the debates of this Congress, but on all occasions, we shall ever bear in mind and ever impress upon our countrymen that, if we are to enjoy the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and liberty of the press, we must so conduct ourselves as to demonstrate by our conduct, by our moderation, by the justness of our criticisms, that we fully deserve these—the greatest blessings which an enlightened Government can confer upon its subjects. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

Gentlemen, it has been sometimes urged that Europeans in this country do not fully sympathise with the just aspirations of the natives of India. In the first

place, this is not universally true, because I have the good fortune to know many Europeans than whom truer or more devoted friends of India do not breathe on the face of the earth. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) And, in the second place, we must be prepared to make very considerable allowances for our European fellow-subjects, because their position in this country is surrounded by difficult and complicated questions not merely of a political but of a social character which tend more or less to keep the two communities asunder, in spite of the best efforts of the leaders of European no less than of native society. Gentlemen, so long as our European friends come to this country as merely temporary residents, so long as they come here merely for the purposes of trade, commerce or of a profession, so long as they do not look upon India as a country in whose welfare they are permanenty interested, so long it will be impossible for us to expect that the majority of the Europeans should fraternize with us upon all great public questions (*hear, hear,*) and it has, therefore, always seemed to me that one of the greatest, the most difficult, the most complicated and at the same time one of the most important problems to be solved is how to make our European friends look upon India as in some sense their own country, even by adoption. For, gentlemen, if we could but induce our retired merchants, engineers, doctors, solicitors, barristers, judges and civilians to make India permanently their home, (*hear, hear and applause*) what an amount of talent and ability, political experience and ripe judgment, we should retain in India, for the benefit of us all (*Applause.*) All those great questions in regard to the financial drain on India and those questions arising from jealousy of races and the rivalry from public employment—would at once disappear. And when we

speak of the poverty of India, because of the draining away of vast sums of money from India to England, it has always seemed to me strange, that so little thought should be bestowed upon the question of the poverty of our resources caused by the drain of so many men of public, political and intellectual eminence from our shores every year (*Applause.*)

Now, gentlemen, one word as to the scope of our action and deliberations. It has been urged—solemnly urged—as an objection against our proceedings—that this Congress does not discuss the question of Social Reform. But, gentlemen, this matter has already been fully dealt with by my friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who presided over your deliberations last year. And I must confess that the objection seems to me strange, seeing that this Congress is composed of the representatives, not of any one class or community, not of one part of India, but of all the different parts, and of all different classes, and of all the different communities of India. Whereas any question of Social Reform must of necessity affect some particular part of some particular community of India only,—and, therefore, gentlemen, it seems to me, that although, we, Mussulmans, have our own social problems to solve, just as our Hindu and Parsee friends have theirs, yet these questions can be best dealt with by the leaders of the particular communities to which they relate (*Applause.*) I therefore, think, gentlemen, that the only wise, and, indeed, the only possible course we can adopt is to confine our discussions to such questions as affect the whole of India at large, and to abstain from the discussion of questions that affect a particular community only (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, I do not, at present at least, propose to say anything upon the various problems that will be submitted to you for your consideration. I have no doubt that the questions will be discussed in a manner and in a spirit that will reflect credit upon us all. I will only say this: be moderate in your demands, be just in your criticism, be accurate in your facts, be logical in your conclusion, and you may be rest assured that any propositions you make to our rulers will be received with that benign consideration which is the characteristic of a strong and enlightened Government. (*Applause.*) And now, gentlemen, I fear, I have already trespassed (*voices of 'no, no,'*) too long upon your time. Before I sit down, I will once more offer to you my thanks from the very bottom of my heart for the very great honor you have done me, and I pray to God that I may be enabled, in some measure, at least, to deserve your approbation and justify the choice you have made and the confidence you have reposed in me (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, I wish this Congress and all succeeding Congresses, every success and every prosperity (*Applause.*)

I am very glad to see the representatives of so many different communities and parts of India gathered together this afternoon before us. This, in itself, gentlemen, is no small advantage that we, as representatives of the different parts of India, should have the opportunity of meeting and discussing together the various problems that affect us all (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I will not take up much more of your time, I say, as our Chairman, Sir T. Madava Rao has said:—I welcome you here—but at the same time I cannot help expressing my deep regret, a regret that I know you all share, that on this occasion we are deprived of the aid and counsel of some

of those gentlemen who laboured most earnestly for and who graced with their presence the Congress on previous occasions, and who have now, all too soon for their country's sake, passed from amongst us. Among the friends we have lost are Dr. Athalye of Bombay who took such an energetic part in the first Congress, held in Bombay, in the year 1885, and Mr. Girija Bhusan Mookerjee, whom you all know, and whom all who knew loved and respected, and who was one of the most active workers for the Congress, held in Calcutta last year. Then, too, we have to mourn the loss of Mr. Dayaram Jethmall, the founder of the National Party in Sind, and a distinguished gentleman belonging to this Presidency, (though I fear I am not in a position to pronounce his name correctly), Mr. Singaraju Venkata Subbaroyudu, of Masulipatam. But, to all these gentlemen, of whose assistance and guidance we have been deprived, we must owe a lasting debt of gratitude. They, in their lifetime, spared no pains to make the Congress, either in Bombay or Calcutta, a success, as far as in their power lay, and it only remains for us, while cherishing their memories, to emulate their example (*Loud and continued applause.*)

Gentlemen, in addition to those of you, who have been able to come to Madras, we have received numerous letters and telegrams from Associations of various kinds, and from a large number of representative men in other parts of India, who, for some reason or other, have been debarred from being represented at or attending this Congress. We have received telegrams from Hyderabad, from all kinds of places in the Madras Presidency,—the names of which I shall not venture to pronounce,—from Kurrachi, Calcutta, Dehra Dhun, Sambhur, Bangalore, Dacca, from His Highness

the Maharaja of Durbungah, Messrs. Lal Mohun and Manomohan Ghose, Mr. Telang, and a vast number of other places, and persons, too numerous for me to pretend to recapitulate. There are no less than sixty and odd telegrams alone placed before me. But, gentlemen, there is one among those which I am particularly anxious to bring to your notice, and that is from our old and distinguished friend, Mr. Atkins,(*laughter*), whom by name, at least, I have not the smallest doubt, every one of us here perfectly knows (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, in his telegram, he wishes this Congress and all future Congresses perfect success (*Applause.*) He wishes that the unity of the different communities should be promoted and that the objects which we all have at heart should be attained (*Applause.*) I think you will be of opinion that that it is a very good omen. We want the assistance not only of representative men of the Indian communities, but we also want the assistance of Europeans (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, while we are attempting to learn some few lessons in the art of Self-Government, our European friends have inherited that art from their forefathers after centuries of experience, and it cannot be doubted that if we can induce our European friends to co-operate with us in these various political matters, which in point of fact affect them no less than they affect us, it cannot, I say, be doubted that it will conduce to the advantage, not only of ourselves, but of the European community also (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. Justice Tyabji on the Native Press.
Bombay 8th July 1896.

GENTLEMEN:—The object of my convening this meeting is to express our abhorrence of the recent murders at Poona, and to denounce the seditious, disloyal, defamatory and mischievous writings in the Urdu newspapers. Every loyal citizen must mourn the dastardly murders and must sympathise with the families of the murdered people and with Government whom they served so well. Our duty is plain enough. We range ourselves firmly and decidedly on the side of Government and order. We denounce the miscreants and their horrible deeds. We pray they may be speedily brought to justice and receive the punishment they so richly deserve. It is fortunate that no suspicion rests on the Mussulmans. This is due to their well-known loyalty, to the good sense and moderation of their leaders, and to the absence of any disloyal or seditious writings on their part at Poona. Fortunately there are not so far as I know, any Islami papers at Poona against which charges of disaffection or sedition can be brought. Can we say the same thing regarding all Urdu newspapers published in Bombay ? I acknowledge with pride and satisfaction that, if we take India as a whole, the Mussulman newspapers are singularly free from seditious writings. I can say the same thing of many of the Mussulman newspapers published in Bombay. Unfortunately, however, there are black sheep among us in Bombay. There are some papers, the editors of which seem to have no conception of their real duties. Their sole object is to malign and defame everybody provided only he is respectable and enjoys.

the esteem of his fellow-subjects or does his duty either as an offender of Government or as an honest public spirited and high-minded citizen. Government collectively, and the highest and most prominent officers of Government individually, are the subjects of outrageous attacks for which there can be suggested no possible justification. I do not believe they know the meaning of "disaffection," for which the offender is liable to be transported for life under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. They confound liberty with licence, and criticism with abuse. These papers are published by ignorant men with absolutely no knowledge of public affairs or the motives of Government and the springs which move Government. They have no sense of their responsibility and do not appear to understand the meaning or force or effect or tendency of the words they so glibly employ. They seem to think that the more they misrepresent the actions of Government or the motives of public officers, the stronger and fouler the language they use, the better their papers sell. This is all they care for. The writers, I know, take deliberate and malicious advantage of the fact that they are too contemptible to be taken notice of either by Government or by private individuals. The contemptuous tolerance has however, had a most pernicious effect upon these papers. They have become bolder and more hardened and more violent and outrageous. It is true that their scandalous writings do not circulate among the respectable classes. But, unfortunately, they circulate among the lower, more ignorant, more excitable, more inflammatory portion of our community. They are read in Bazaars and the Coffee houses, and the more violent their language, the more eagerly they are purchased. Is not this a great evil? Is it not the duty of Government and of all loyal and

honest citizens to put it down? Has it not reached a point when tolerance is likely to be mistaken for weakness? What, then, is the remedy? Am I an advocate of repressive legislation? Am I suggesting the curtailment of liberty of speech by any new enactment? Certainly not. The whole object of my convening this meeting is to prove that there is no need for any such measures, that the remedy lies ready in the hands of Government and of the community, and that it has only to be used and applied to put an end to this evil. So far as Government is concerned I believe the present law is amply sufficient. It gives perfect freedom of speech, but punishes disaffection, that is to say, punishes malicious attempts to produce in the minds of people feelings of enmity, or hatred, or discontent against Government. What I should advise is this. Let bygones be bygones, but let Government, let us all watch the newspapers carefully in the future. If these seditious and defamatory writings are continued let the writers be prosecuted. We shall then see whether the present law is sufficient or not. I myself believe that there would not be the slightest difficulty in obtaining a conviction of the miscreants I have in view. But, gentlemen, in a case like this, it is not to Government that we ought to look. We have the remedy in our own hands. If none of us read them, or tolerated them directly or indirectly, these wretched papers would cease to exist to-morrow. It is to you, then, and to those whom you can influence, it is to the good common sense and to the loyalty to the community at large, it is to their sense of fairness, justice and honesty and leniency far more than to any repressive legislation that I look for the extinction of this growing evil.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

At other times and in other countries the hero of this biography would have occupied one of the most honoured places in the temple of scholarship, and would have enriched the reputation of his land for deep erudition and unwearied industry by works of surpassing merit and originality. But the gods decreed otherwise, and one who was born to adorn the arts of peace and culture has been dragged from the learned seclusion of his study and plunged into the vortex of politics, with the inevitable fate awaiting all those who work for the better ordering of the affairs of their country. His life possesses all the materials for a political romance. Starting life with the light of the unclouded Sun shining on his path, he has lived to see the shadows lengthening and the storm raging around him. But during all this period of incessant activity he has never for one moment faltered in the course pointed out to him by the hand of destiny and the impulse of his own passionate nature. No figure in modern Indian politics rouses such contradictory emotions as Mr. Tilak. To the Indian belonging to his own political party, he is the hero who is to be followed implicitly. To the Indian of the opposite political school, he is the very incarnation of misguided activity and unalloyed selfishness. Friend and foe alike confess that he is an extraordinary man whose personality contains the magic charm of drawing round him the enthusiastic admiration of thousands.

He was born at Ratnagiri on 23rd July 1856, and his ancestors had distinguished themselves in Mahratta

733

history. He had in his father, Mr. Gangadhar Ramchandra Tilak, a man of great ability and learning who was at first an Assistant Teacher at Ratnagiri, and then Deputy Educational Inspector at Thana and Poona. The son inherited from his father his love of teaching and mathematical powers. The death of the father in 1872 left the son at the age of 16 without the help and solicitude which a father alone knows how to shew towards the child of his affection. After passing the Entrance Examination, he joined the Deccan College from which he graduated with honours in 1876. He then took to the study of law and obtained the L. L. B. degree in 1879. It was at this most impressionable period when dreams of goodness float in the mind of youth that Mr. Tilak came into contact with Mr. Agarkar, and the two young men resolved to abjure all desire for Government service, and matured a plan for the establishment of a School and College to impart cheap education. The two enthusiastic workers met with no encouragement in the beginning, but they found at last in Mr. Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, a man of similar aspirations and the most famous Marathi prose writer of the day, a sympathetic comrade. The Poona new English School was ushered into existence on 2nd January 1880 by Messrs. Tilak, Chiplunkar and M. B. Namjoshi, who were before the close of the year strengthened by the addition of Mr. V. S. Apte, M. A. and Mr. Agarkar, M. A. The Maratha Pandavas, as they might be fitly called, had energy left in them for the starting of two newspapers the *Maharatta* and the *Kesari* which were printed at the Arya Bhushan Press, established by Mr. Chiplunkar. The conductors of the infant journals had soon to taste the consequences

of unflinching criticism. They boldly criticized the action of the Kharbhari of the state of Kolhapur for the treatment accorded to H. H. Shivaji Rao, the Maharaja. During the course of the prosecution for defamation against the papers, Mr. Chiplunkar died, and Mr. Tilak and Mr. Agarkar were found guilty and sentenced to simple imprsionment for four months. This is the first of the prosecutions to which Mr. Tilak was subjected.

Messrs. Tilak and Namjoshi continued their patriotic labours and in 1884 the Daccan Education Society of Poona was formed. Later on Professor V. B. Kelkar, Professor Dharap, Professor M. S. Gole joined forces with them, and in 1885 the famous Fergusson College was brought into existence under the fostering care of the Deccan Education Society. Mr. Tilak's participation in the work of the School and College lasted only till 1890 when he resigned his connection.

In 1888 Mr. Agarkar gave up his connection with the *Kesari* on account of differences of opinion on social and religious matters, and the two papers vested in Mr. Tilak, Mr. Kelkar and Mr. H. N. Gokhale. As Professor Kelkar could not continue his connection with the papers, Mr. Tilak became the sole editor of both; and later on a partition was effected by which Mr. Tilak obtained the proprietorship of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* and Messrs. Kelkar and Gokhale retained the ownership of the Arya Bhushan Press.

Mr. Tilak took a leading part in the controversy in regard to the Age of Consent Bill, and his opposition to the Bill was based not on any real conflict of princip:

but on his firm conviction that the autonomy of Hindu Society should not be disturbed by any Government legislation but by spontaneous movement from within its own pale. While engaged in public work, he was also in charge of a Law Class, the first institution in the Presidency, for the purpose of equipping young men for law examinations.

About this period, he gave the time that he could spare from the work of a Law-lecturer and an editor to the study of the antiquity of the Vedas. He pursued an entirely original line of research, and succeeded in establishing his reputation as a scholar of great solidity and independence of thought. He sent a summary containing his contributions to the elucidations of the antiquity of the Vedas as proved by astronomical observations to the International Congress of Orientals, which met in London in 1892. He subsequently published the whole paper in the form of a treatise, entitled 'The Orion,' or Researches into the antiquity of the Vedas.'

'We have again to revert to an exciting public event in which he figured conspicuously, viz., the prosecution of Rao Sahib N. S. Bapat of the Settlement Department of the State of Baroda on a number of charges of corruption. As the accused was one of his personal friends, he threw himself heart and soul into the defence and acquitted himself in a manner which well sustains the belief that if he had only persevered in his profession as a lawyer, he would have by this time most probably been elevated to the Bench of the High Court.

His interest in politics led him to associate himself with the Indian National Congress, and he was

the Secretary of its Deccan Standing Committee for some years. He organized the first five sessions of the Bombay Provincial Conference, the last of which held at Poona under the Presidency of the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta, was a brilliant success. He was twice elected to the Bombay Legislative Council and also a Fellow of the Bombay University. He also established his fame as a Municipal Councillor of Poona when he was returned as a Member of the Municipality at the head of the pole in 1895. In the same year he was chosen the Secretary of the Poona Congress, the eleventh National Congress Sessions. But party differences arose among the Congressmen of Poona about the holding of the Social Conference in the Congress Pandal, and Mr. Tilak retired from the work, although he continued to assist in the succesful holding of the Congress Sessions.

It was in the severe famine that broke out in the Presidency in 1896 that Mr. Tilak shewed his love of the common people which accounts for his astonishing popularity with them. In Poona he brought into existence cheap grain shops which averted disturbances. The suffering of the people of Sholapur and Nagur took him to the spot where he matured a system of relief works in co-operation with the Government. Mr. Tilak did render valuable service when plague made its first appearance in Poona; and he remained on the spot, while a good many of the fair weather politicians had fled in panic, and organised a hospital and in his paper recommended to the people the salutary measures of the Government for the stamping out of the plague.

Mr. Tilak recognized that hero-worship or "boundless admiration" as Carlyle calls it, was a strong

incentive for national zeal and he found in Sivaji, the great Maharatta chief and warrior, a historic personality capable of rousing the dormant energies of his people.

With a laudable desire like that of Lord Curzon for perpetuating the memory of Clive, he started a movement for repairing the tomb of Sivaji at Raighar and for celebrating annually the Sivaji day. As plague was raging in Maharashtra at the time, the celebration of the year 1897, took place not on Sivaji's birth-day, but on his coronation day which was the 18th June. There was an imposing ceremonial accompained by singing and preaching, and on the 18th June a report of the proceedings, with a hymn sung on the occasion, was published in the *Kesari*. The murder of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst on the 22nd June which produced panic in the Anglo-Indian Community, was regarded as the outcome of the article in the *Kesari* and the Government of Bombay gave sanction to the Oriental Translator, Mr. Big to institute proceedings against Mr. Tilak for sedition. Mr. Tilak was arrested in Bombay and not in Poona on the 27th June in the night, and brought before the Chief Presidency Magistrate who refused an application for bail. The High Court was moved, but refused to release Mr. Tilak on bail. On the 2nd August Mr. Tilak was committed to stand his trial at the High Court Sessions and a second application for bail was made to Mr. Justice Tyabji by Mr. Davar (now the Judge) which was opposed by the Government. But Mr. Justice Tyabji released Mr. Tilak on bail, and in his order expounded the law in the light of the principles governing the action of Criminal

Courts in England. The defence was conducted in the High Court by Mr. Pugh, of the Calcutta Bar, assisted by Mr. (now Justice) Davar while the prosecution was in the hands of the Advocate-General. A Jury consisting of six Europeans and three Indians was empanelled, and Mr. Tilak was found guilty by the six European majority. The Judge accepted the verdict and sentenced him to eighteen months, rigorous imprisonment. The application to reserve some points of law to the Full Bench was refused, and of course the Advocate-General who had conducted the prosecution could not be expected to stultify himself by the grant of a certificate. The High Court of Bombay followed suit and refused special leave to appeal to the Privy Council. The last resource left to the defence was tried by moving the Privy Council to grant leave, and Mr. Asquith, the present Prime-minister, argued the case; but the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, saw no occasion for interfering with the verdict of the Lower Court and rejected the application. It may be worth while mentioning the fact that the Chancellor was a Member of the Cabinet of which Secretary of State for India who had sanctioned the prosecution was a Member. The highest Court of Appeal having refused to reconsider the case on the merits, the friends of Mr. Tilak in England, Professor Max Muller and Mr. William Hunter, presented a petition to the Queen, and prayed for mercy as he was a great scholar and as his release would be taken as an act of the exercise of the prerogative which was worthy of the Sovereign. After some negotiations, Mr. Tilak was released on the 6th September 1898 on his giving his consent to certain formal conditions.

The next six months were passed by Mr. Tilak at the Singhad Sanitarium where he recovered somewhat the health that had been considerably impaired by his prison-life. After attending the Congress held in Madras, he travelled to Ceylon.

In the midst of all his public activities he found time to devote to the study of the antiquity of the vedas; and during a period of ten years he gradually mastered not only the original works but the western treatises on the subject. As he continued his researches, the conclusion was slowly forced upon his mind that the original home of the Vedic-Singers was in the Arctic region and that the ancient hymns date from interglacial times. In his former book, the 'Orion,' he had invoked the assistance of astronomical observations to establish the antiquity of the Vedic-compositions, and in "The Arctic Home in the Vedas" he pressed into service the latest discoveries in Geology and the most recent information about the condition of the primitive man. It is indeed a melancholy task to turn from the contemplation of Tilak, the scholar, to Tilak struggling with difficulties arising from prosecution. The famous Tai Maharaj case involved him in mental and physical irritation which, to a man of his temperament, was more unbearable than any trouble caused by a state prosecution for sedition. Shri Baba Maharaja, a first-class Sardar of Poona and a member of one of the oldest aristocratic families of the Deccan, was on the point of death when he sent for Mr. Tilak who had been only a few days before released from the prison. As Mr. Tilak was a great friend of the Maharaja and as he was sincerely desirous of promoting the prosperity of the family, he was induced to accept

the heavy responsibility of an executor under the last will and testament of the dying man.

This benevolent compliance with the last wishes of a personal friend was the cause of all the storm that raged over his devoted head from 1901 to 1904. "Mr. Tilak, with his usual thoroughness, set about bringing order into the chaos in which the estate of the late Maharaja was left, and, for the real stability of the family, he determined to do two things, viz., the payment of the debts and the putting the widow on a shorter allowance than she had expected, and the adoption of a boy. The young widow did not first raise any opposition to the scheme but the evil counsellors who surrounded the young and rich widow, played upon her fear and suspicion till she imagined that she would be in a better position if she were allowed to adopt a boy of her own choice who could be bound by any conditions that she might choose to impose. So gradually the conspirators including her favourite Karbhari, drew the net round her, but till the 18th June 1901, the misguided widow did not manifest any signs of hostility towards the executors. On that day they all set out for Aurangabad where a boy chosen from another branch of the old family was given in adoption to Tai Maharaj. When she returned from Aurangabad, she listened to the evil suggestions of her counsellors and instituted proceedings before Mr. Aston, District Judge of Poona, for revocation of the probate of the will of her late husband. The District Judge found that the probate granted to Mr. Tilak and other executors was invalid and passed an order revoking the probate, but not content to strictly confine himself to this main issue in the case, he allowed at his unrestricted discretion

much irrelevant evidence as to the confinement of Tai Maharaj, the Aurangabad adoption, etc., against which Mr. Tilak protested in vain. The evident object of all this was to damage Mr. Tilak's reputation for integrity in the public estimation; and to accomplish this ungracious purpose the District Judge took proceedings under the Criminal Procedure Code and committed Mr. Tilak to the Poona Magistrate to be proceeded against according to law. A formidable list of seven charges including corruption, perjury and forgery were formulated against Mr. Tilak, and, although the High Court set aside the judgment of the Lower Court on the issue of revocation of the probate, they did not think it fit to stop the criminal proceedings against Mr. Tilak, which resulted in conviction and a sentence of eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. The Sessions Judge in appeal, Mr. Lucas, reduced the sentence to six months. The Judge was of opinion that Mr. Tilak's character was absolutely untainted by any corrupt intentions. After this remark the High Court could not uphold the conviction at all, and quashed it and the Government withdrew the other charges. Mr. Tilak emerged from this furious ordeal of prolonged misery, triumphant without a blemish on his character. The judgment of the High Court in the Criminal Case dealt with the question of adoption and pronounced in its favour, and Mr. Tilak obtained afterwards a civil decree recognizing the validity of the adoption.

The last stage of Mr. Tilak's life has now been reached, and from the year 1905 onwards we find him incessantly occupied in political activities of a varied nature. The year 1905 is an eventful year in the annals

of British rule in India. It saw the partition of Bengal effected by that most imperious of Viceroys, Lord Curzon.

It was in the Congress of 1905 which was held under the presidency of Mr. Gokhale at Benares that the boycott was declared a lawful weapon to be used by the Congress as an effective protest against a political wrong which the authorities are not desirous of redressing in compliance with popular agitation and opinion.

It is not at all necessary that the history of the Calcutta Congress and its now famous resolutions on Swaraj, Boycott, Swadeshi, and National Education should here be repeated with all its exciting details. The deliberations of the Calcutta Congress form the high water-mark of the Indian National Congress. The next year 1907 saw an attempt which was a retrogade step and against which the Nationalists protested under the astute guidance of Mr. Tilak and which resulted in the break up of the Surat Congress.

In 1908 he was one of those who took part in the Temperance movement and the Poona Municipal elections in which his personality held the palm of victory. The Bombay Provincial Conference held at Dhulia was attended by Mr. Tilak. No sooner had the hot controversy regarding the break up of the Congress began to subside in violence, than the bomb outrages at Muzafurpore towards the end of April electrified the whole of India as an unexpected event in the Political History of India. The District Magistrate of Dacca was shot at by some unknown person or persons only a couple of days before the Congress Session at Surat. The attempt made on the life of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the life of the Mayor of

Chandernagore, all these and other events led to the adoption of a vigorous policy of repression. Prosecutions for sedition became the order of the day and the most barbarous sentences have been passed on the unfortunate Editors of newspapers and public speakers. It was, of course, well known that the tallest poppy in the field would also be felled down by the Government scythe. The Bombay Legislative Council met at Poona on the 20th June 1908, when the Governor made a declaration that the Government were determined upon putting down seditious agitators in the province who were in the habit of exciting disaffection against the authorities ; and it was, of course, understood who was the real object of the Government's solicitude in the matter. Already a number of Indian newspapers were being prosecuted for sedition. Mr. Tilak as the most potent journalist in the Deccan could not be left out of the kind consideration of the Government. Mr. Paranjpe, a friend of Mr. Tilak had been committed to the Bombay Sessions for seditious writing in his paper, the *Kal*, and Mr. Tilak left Poona for Bombay to be near the scene of the trial to give necessary help in the course of the trial. On the 23rd June, the official sanction for the prosecution of Mr. Tilak was given and on the 24th June he was arrested at 6 p. m. under a warrant issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate at Sardar Graha.

On the very same day his house and office at Poona as well as his residence at the hill fort sanitarium Singhgad, were searched under a warrant issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate. A postcard containing the names of two books on explosives written on it was found, and, as we shall presently see, the prosecution made much of this card in the course of the trial. On

the 28th June, Mr. Tilak was brought before the Magistrate who remanded him to custody after rejecting an application for bail. While Mr. Tilak was in Jail, the Government thought that one article was not strong enough to secure conviction and gave sanction to prosecute for another article on the 9th June in the *Kesari*; and the new warrant was served on Mr. Tilak in the Jail. On the 29th June, Mr. Aston committed Mr. Tilak to the Sessions of the Bombay High Court on two sets of charges under 124-A and 153-A by two separate orders of commitment. Mr. Tilak was lodged in the Dongri Jail at Bombay, and could not make such adequate preparation for his defence as he would have done if he had been released on bail. Mr. Jinna, Bar-at-Law, made before Mr. Justice Davar, the Judge presiding over the third Cirminal Sessions, an application for bail, and it was refused on the ground that Mr. Tyabji's exposition of the law of bail was not quite correct and that there were other circumstances which it would be wise under the circumstances not to mention. The Prosecution applied for a Special Jury and carried the point, although Mr. Baptista contended that it would be unfair to do so, as a majority on the Special Jury list were Europeans who could not understand the language in which the incriminating articles were written.

On the 13th July began the memorable State trial which will here after take a prominent place among the State trials in which the liberty of the Indian Press was at stake. The question of the amalgamation of the charges took up a considerable time, and as many as three charges (one under 153 A for the first article and two under 124-A and 153-A fo

the second article) were joined together to the prejudice of Mr. Tilak who, conducting his own defence, pointed out that it was against the express provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and against his own interests. A Special Jury consisting of seven Europeans and two Parsees was empanelled, thus realising the fear entertained by the accused. The prosecution occupied two days and a half.

Mr. Tilak began his defence on the third day of the trial at 4 P.M. and ended on the eighth and the last day. He spoke for twenty and one hour and ten minutes, as Mr. Justice Davar remarked in his charge to the Jury. The speech of Mr. Tilak is not characterized by eloquence, but it is a sober and dignified and stately defence of liberty of the Press in the country.

Mr. Tilak concluded his address to the Jury at about 12-30 noon on the last day and, after the Advocate-General had replied in a way that was not a fair answer to any of the arguments so elaborately put forth by the illustrious accused, the Judge delivered his charge to the Jury by sitting up till 10 P. M. A majority of seven returned a verdict of guilty and the Judge, accepting it, sentenced Mr. Tilak to six years' transportation and a fine of one thousand Rupees. Before the sentence was pronounced, the accused, in reply to the question if he had anything to say, spoke those memorable words which bring out the high patriotism which Mr. Davar affected to call a mere profession, and the calm endurance of a fate with the dignity of the great heroes of history :

"In spite of the verdict of the Jury I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule

the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by remaining free."

Mr. Tilak was hurried away to Ahmedabad where he was lodged for some time till he was recently transferred to Mandalay by a benign Government which had commuted his transportation with simple imprisonment and remitted the fine of one thousand Rupees. An application to reserve some points of law was rejected by the Judge, and successive applications to the Advocate-General and a Full Bench having proved equally abortive, it remains to be seen whether the Privy Council, the highest appellate tribunal, will interfere. For laying the case before the Privy Council Mr. Khaparde has now gone to England.

The Bombay people, at any rate many of them, when they heard of the conviction of Mr. Tilak shewed by their demonstrations how much he was revered by them. Tilak is now in Mandaly and it is not possible to guess what thoughts, fears, and hopes may be passing across his mind. The prison walls now shade him from our physical view, but do we not behold by the eye of faith, hope and charity the man who, of all the many glorious sons of India has suffered most for the great mother who has borne us all. Our sorrow is great, ay, unutterable. But the heart muses and burns and the conjecture may be hazarded that he will again revisit his beloved land and his own beloved city, the home of the builders of the Maharashtra Empire.

There is hope that the last chapter of his life has yet to be witten.

"Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be

It is the generous spirit, who when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright."

The immense influence which Mr. Tilak exercises over his people and over men in other parts of the country has been built by many contributing factors. He is among Indian political reformers the least touched by the glamour of Western civilization. He would confess that English education has done much for us, but that does not amount to the adoption of customs which are not necessary for the well-being of the land but are merely an imitation lacking independence of thought. The common people of Maharashtra look upon him as a very God who has come to live in the Kaliyuga among the sons of men. Simple in dress, and speech, accessible even to the most lowly, and yet withal one of the greatest scholars of the land or even of the world, he has struck the imagination of his countrymen more than any other worker for the general good.

He does not treat political subjects with the glow and religious fervour of Bengal nationalists who have practically created in India the Gospel of nationalism. He, like the men of his race, has a practical shrewdness of judgment which is more formidable to opponent than the highflown periods and grand emotions of other workers in the fields disregard of self is the most distinctive feature of his character, and it is this, as Mr. Nevinson remarks, which has made extremism the loveable thing it is to many ardent men. The calmness of mind, and elasticity of spirit, that he possesses, has

brought him out of the most painful circumstances and, in spite of opposition and misrepresentation, he has maintained his hold upon the people, a hold which is to-day more powerful than it ever has been, and which would be remembered in the political history of India, not as merely the result of the deliberate work of a clever mind but as the response to those feelings in common human nature which are the deepest and the most ennobling.

A Standard Character for Indian Languages.

(Speech delivered at Benares at the Nagari, Pracharni Sabha Conference under the Presidency of Mr. R. C. Dutt in December 1905.)

Gentlemen, the scope and object of the Nagari Pracharni Sabha has already been explained to you by the president. I should have gladly dialated on the same. But as ten speakers are to follow me within an hour and a half, I must forego the pleasure and restrict myself, during the few minutes at my disposal to a brief mention of the points which I think ought to be kept in view in endeavouring to work on the lines adopted by the Sabha.

The first and the most important thing we have to remember is that this movement is not merely for establishing a common character for the Northern India. It is a part and parcel of a larger movement, I may say a National Movement, to have a common language for the whole of India; for a common language is an important element of nationality. It is by a common language that you express your thoughts to others; and Manu rightly says that everything is

749.

comprehended or proceeded from *vak* or language. Therefore if you want to draw a nation together there is no force more powerful than to have a common language for all. And that is the end which the Sabha has kept in view.

But how is the end to be attained? We aim at having a common language not only for Northern India, but I will say, in course of time, for the whole of India including the Southern or the Madras Presidency, and when the scope of our labours is so widened our difficulties seem to grow apace. First of all we have to face what may be called the historic difficulties. The contests between the Aryans and the non-Aryans in ancient, and between the Mahomedans and the Hindus in later times have destroyed the linguistic harmony of the country. In Northern India the languages spoken by the Indian population are mostly Aryan, being derived from Sanskrit; while those in the South are Dravidian in origin. The difference exists not only in words but in the characters in which those words are written. Next to this is the difference between Urdu and Hindi to which so much prominence is given in this province. On our side we have also the Modi or the running script character as distinguished from the Balabodha or the Devanagari in which the Marathi books are ordinarily printed.

There are, therefore, two great important elements which we have to harmonise and bring together under our common character or language before we venture to go to the Mahomedan or Persian characters. I have already said that though a common language for India is the ultimate end we have in view, we begin with the lowest step of the ladder, I mean, a common character

for Hindus. But here too we have to harmonise the two elements now mentioned—the Aryan or the Devanagari character, and the Dravidian or the Tamil character. It should be noted that the distinction is not one of character only in as much as there are certain sounds in the Dravidian languages which are not to be found in any Aryan language.

We have resolved to proceed step by step, and as explained to you by the president we have at first taken up in hand only the group of the Aryan languages, i.e., those derived from Sanskrit. These are Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi and Gurumukhi. There are other sub-dialects, but I have named the 'principal ones. These lauguages are all derived from Sanskrit; and the characters in which they are written are also modifications of the ancient characters of India. In course of time each of these languages has however, developed its own peculiarities in grammer, pronunciation and characters, though the alphabet in each is nearly the same.

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha aims at having a common character for all these Aryan languages, so that when a book is printed in that character it may be more readily intelligible to all the people speaking the Aryan languages. I think we all agree on this point and admit its utility. But the difficulty arises, when a certain character is proposed as best fitted to be the common character for all. Thus, for instance the Bengalis may urge that the characters in which they write their language are more ancient than those adopted by the Gujarathi or Marathi speaking people, and that the Bengali should therefore be selected as a common character for all. There are others who think that

the Devanagari, as you find it in the printed books, is the oldest character and therefore it is entitled to be the common character for all the Aryan languages.

I do not think, however, that we can decide this question on pure historic grounds. If you go to ancient inscriptions you will find that no less than ten different characters were in use at different times since the days of Ashoka and that Kharoshtri or Brahmi is believed to be the oldest of them all. Since then all letters have undergone a great deal of change; and all our existing characters are modifications of some one or other of the ancient characters. It would, I think, therefore be idle to decide the question of common character on purely antiquarian basis.

To avoid this difficulty it was at one time suggested that we should all adopt Roman characters; and one reason advanced in support thereof was that it would give a common character both for Asia and Europe.

Gentlemen, the suggestion appears to me to be utterly ridiculous. The Roman alphabet, and therefore Roman Character, is very defective and entirely unsuited to express the sounds used by us. It has been found to be defective even by English grammarians. Thus while sometimes a single letter has three or four sounds, sometimes a single sound is represented by two or three letters. Add to it the difficulty of finding Roman characters or letters that would exactly represent the sounds in our languages without the use of any diacritic marks, and the ridiculousness of the suggestion would be patent to all.

If a common character is needed for us all, it should be, you will therefore see, a more prefect character than the Roman. European Sanskritists have declared that the Devanagari alphabet is more perfect than any which obtains in Europe. And with this clear opinion before us it would be suicidal to go to any other alphabet in our search for a common character for all the Aryan languages in India. No, I would go further and say that the classification of letters and sounds on which we have bestowed so much labour in India and which we find perfected in the works of Panini is not to be found in any other language in the world. That is another reason why the Devanagari alphabet is the best suited to represent the different sounds we all use. If you compare the different characters given at the end of each book published in the Sacred Books of the East Series you will be convinced of what I say. We have one sound for one letter and one letter for each sound. I do not think, therefore, that there can be any difference of opinion as to what alphabet we should adopt. The Devanagari is pre-eminently such an abphabet. The question is one of character or the form in writing which the letters of the alphabet assume in different provinces; and I have already said that this question cannot be solved on mere antiquarian grounds.

Like Lord Curzon's standard time we want a standard character. Well, if Lord Curzon had attempted to give us a standard character on national lines he would have been entitled to our respect far more than by giving us a standard time. But it has not been done; and we must do it ourselves giving up all provincial prejudices. The Bengalis naturally take pride in their own character. I do not blame them for it. There are

753

others in Gujarath who say that their character is easy to write because they omit the head-line. The Maharashtries on the other hand may urge that Marathi is the character in which Sanskrit is written, and therefore, it ought to be the common character for the whole of India.

I fully appreciate the force of these remarks. But we must come to a solution of the question and for that purpose discuss the subject in a business-like and practical manner. Whatever character we adopt, it must be easy to write, elegant to the eye and capable of being written with fluency. The letters that you devise must again be sufficient to express all the sounds in different Aryan languages, nay, must be capable of being extended to express the Dravidian sounds without diacritic marks. There should be one letter for every sound and *vice versa*. That is what I mean by sufficient and complete character. And if we put our heads together it would not be difficult to devise such a character based on the existing ones. In determining upon such a character we shall have to take into consideration the fact, namely, which of the existing characters is or are used over a wider area. For a single character used over a wider area if suited in other respects will naturally claim preference to be a common character as far as it goes.

When you have appointed your committee for the purpose and found out a common character, I think, we shall have to go to Government and urge upon its attention the necessity of introducing in the vernacular school books of each province a few lessons in this standard character, so that the next generation may become familiar with it from its school days. Studying a

new character is not a difficult task. But there is a sort of reluctance to study a new character after one's studies are completed. This reluctance can be overcome by the way I have suggested and herein Government can help us. It is not a political question as such though in the end everything may be said to be political. A Government that gave us a standard time and standard system of weights and measures would not, I think, object to lend its help to a scheme which aims to secure a standard character for all Aryan languages.

When this common character is established it would not be difficult to read the books printed in one dialect of the Aryan language by those who use a different dialect of the same? My own difficulty in not understanding a Bengali book is that I cannot read the characters. If a Bengali book is printed in the Devanagari characters I can follow the author to a great extent, if not wholly, so as to understand the purport of the book; for, over fifty per cent. of the words used will be found borrowed or derived from Sanskrit. We are all fast adopting new ideas from the West and with the help of the parent tongue, the Sanskrit coining new words to express the same. Here, therefore, is another direction in which we may work for securing a common language for all and I am glad to see that by preparing a dictionary of scientific terms in Hindi, the Sabha is doing a good service in this line. I should have liked to say some thing on this point. But as there are other speakers to follow me, I do not think I shall be justified in doing so and therefore resume my seat with your permission.

The Bharata Dharma Mahamadala.

(*Benares, 3rd January* 1906).

I am sorry I cannot address you in any other language except Marathi and English. English should be boycotted for religious purposes. But I cannot help and hope you will excuse me. I shall speak a few words on the importance of Hindu religion, its present condition and efforts that are being made to preserve it from decay. What is Hindu religion ? If you go to the different parts of India, you will find different views about Hindu religion entertained by different people. Here you are mostly Vaishnavas or followers of Shri Krishna. If you go to the south, you will meet followers of Ramanuja and such others. What is Hindu religion then ? Bharata Dharma Mahamandala cannot be a Mahamandala unless it includes and co-ordinates these different sections and parts. Its name can only be significant if different sections of Hindu religion are united under its banner. All these different sects are so many branches of the Vedic religion. The term Sanatan Dharma shows that our religion is very old—as old as the history of the human race itself. Vedic religion was the religion of the Aryans from a very early time. But you all know no branch can stand by itself. Hindu religion as a whole made up of different parts co-related to each other as so many sons and daughters of one great religion. If this idea is kept in view and if we try to unite the various sections it will be consolidated into a mighty force. So long as you are divided amongst yourselves, so long as one section does not recognise its affinity with another, you cannot hope to rise as Hindus. Religion is an element in nationality. The word Dharma means a tie and comes from the root *dhri* to bear or

hold. What is there to hold together? To connect the soul with God, and man with man. Dharma means our duties towards God as well as towards our fellow-creatures. Religion is made up of both these elements—duty towards God and duty towards man. Hindu religion as such provides for a moral as well as social tie. This being our definition we must go black to the past and see how it was worked out. During Vedic times India was a self-contained country. It was united as a great nation. That unity has disappeared bringing on us great degradation and it becomes the duty of the leaders to revive that union. A Hindu of this place is as much a Hindu as the one from Madras or Bombay. You might put on a different dress, speak a different language, but you should remember that the inner sentiments which move you all are the same. The study of the Geeta, Ramayana and Mahabharata produce the same ideas throughout the country. Are not these—common allegiance to the Vedas, the Geeta and the Ramayana—our common heritage? If we lay stress on it forgetting all the minor differences that exist between different sects, then by the grace of Providence we shall ere long be able to consolidate all the different sects into a mighty Hindu nation. This ought to be the ambition of every Hindu. If you thus work to unite you will find within a few years one feeling and one thought actuating and dominating all people throughout the country. This is the work we have to do. The present condition of our religion is not at all one that is desirable. We think ourselves separated and the feeling of that unity which was at the root of our advancement in the past is gone. It is certainly an unfortunate circumstance that we should have so many sections

and sub-sections. It is the duty of an association like the Bharata Dharma Mahamandala to work to restore the lost and forgotten union. In the absence of unity India cannot claim its place among the nations of the world. For some two hundred years India was in the same condition as it is in to-day. Buddhism flourished and attacks were made on Hindu religion by Buddhists and Jains. After 600 years of chaos rose one great leader, Shankaracharya, and he brought together all the common philosophical elements of our religion and proved and preached them in such a way that Buddhism was swept away from the land.

We have the grand and eternal promise Shri Krishna has given in the Geeta that whenever there is a decay of Dharma, He comes down to restore it. When there is a decay owing to disunion, when good men are persecuted, then Shri Krishna comes down to save us. There is no religion on the face of the earth except the Hindu religion wherein we find such a hopeful promise that God comes to us as many times as necessary. After Mahomed no prophet is promised, and Jesus Christ comes once for ever. No religion holds such promise full of hope. It is because of this that the Hindu religion is not dead. We are never without hope. Let heretics say what they may. A time will come when our religion thoughts and our rights will be vindicated. Each man is doing his best, and as the association is doing its best, every Hindu is welcome to assist it and carry it to its goal. If we do not find men coming forward let us hope they will do so in the next generation. We are never without hope; no other religion has such a definite and sacred promise as we have of Shri Krishna ; it is based on truth and truth never dies. I say it and I am prepared to prove this statement. I

believe that truth is not vouchsafed to one only. The great characteristic of truth is that it is universal and catholic. It is not confined to any particular race. Hindu religion tolerates all religions. Our religion says that all religions are based on truth, "you follow yours, I mine."

Shri Krishna says that the followers of other religions worship God though not in a proper form. Shri Krishna does not say that the followers of other religions would be doomed to eternal hell. I challenge anybody to point out to me a similar text from the scriptures of other religions. It cannot be found in any other religion, because they are partial truth while our Hindu religion is based on the whole-the Sanatan truth, and therefore it is bound to triumph in the end. Numerical strength also is a great strength. Can the religion which counts its followers by crores die? Never, unless the crores of our fellow-followers are suddenly swept away, our religion will not die. All that is required for our glorious triumph and success is that we should unite all the different sects on a common platform and let the stream of Hindu religion flow through one channel with a mighty consolidated and concentrated force. This is the work which the Bharata Dharma Mandala has to do and accomplish. Let us be all united. Because a particular man wears a particular dress, speaks a different tongue, worships a particular *devata*, is that any reason for our withdrawing our hands of fellowship to our Hindu brother? The character of our Hindu religion is very comprehensive—as comprehensive as its literature itself. We have a wonderful literature. Wisdom, as is concentrated in Gita and epitomised in about 700 verses, that wisdom, I am confident, cannot be defeated

or overcome by any philosophy, be it Western or any other. Now I turn to the forces that are arrayed against us. There are mainly two forces of (1) science and (2) Christianity. If our religion is threatened with any hostile criticism, it comes from these two. As for the first, a great change is coming over the West and truths that are discovered by them were known to our Rishis. Modern science is gradually justifying and vindicating our ancient wisdom. With the establishment of Psychical Research Societies and the expansion of seientific knowledge they have come to understand that the fundamental principles of our religion are based on truth that can be proved. Take an instance. Chaitanya pervades every thing. It is strictly a Hindu theory. Professor Bose has recently shown that this Vedantic doctrine is literally true according to modern science. Take the doctirne of the survival of soul indepedent of the body.

Doctrines of Karma and Reincarnation go with it. Spencer never believed in these. But recently it has been our great privilege to see that Sir Oliver Lodge and Mayor and others have declared that the soul does not die with body; so much now they are convinced of. Modern science accepts the doctrine of Karma if not of reincarnation. But it is not the belief of Christianity. They hold that God gives a new soul each and every time. Thus it would be seen that a change is coming over the West. Our enemies are fast disappearing before the teachings of modern science. Take courage and work hard for the final triumph. If you make a little effort and aim at union, you have a bright future before you. Now-a-days Vedanta is not only read but studied by Americans. No European doctor believes that the beating of the heart can

be voluntarily stopped. But it has been proved to the contrary. Vedanta and Yoga have been fully vindicated by modern science and these aim at giving you spiritual union. It is our clear duty, therefore, to follow truth and re-edit our scriptures and place them before the world in the light of modern science that they may be acceptable to all. But I tell you again unity is necessary for such work. You would be wanting in duty to yourself and to your ancestors if you do not give up provincial prejudices and promote unity that underlies all sects. We have been very idle. We have grown so stupid owing to our idleness that we are required to be told by foreigners that our treasures conceal gold and not iron. Modern science and education are prepared to help you if you take advantage of them, and time will come when instead of Christians preaching Christianity here we shall see our preachers preaching Sanatan Dharma all over the world. Concentrate all your forces. The idea of a Hindu University where our old religion will be taught along with modern science is a very good one and should have the support of all. In conclusion, I would again draw your attention to bring about a harmonious union of all sects and rightly claim and obtain our rightful place among the nations of the world.

Honest Swadeshi.

(Speech delivered on Sunday the 23rd December 1906 in Beadon Square, Calcutta, under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai).

I did not expect to have to speak on the day on which my long journey from Poona came to an end, but circumstances appear to have left me no choice.

Lord Minto opened the Industrial Exhibition here the other day and in doing so, said that honest Swadeshism should be dissociated from political aspirations. In other words, the Swadeshi agitation had, within the last eighteen months been carried on by the workers for motives other than those professed and for ends not yet disclosed. This is entirely an unfair representation of the existing state of things and can easily be demonstrated to be so. To begin with, if Lord Minto thinks the Swadeshi workers dishonest, why should he have associated himself with them by consenting to open the Exhibition? Further, if Lord Minto is honest, and our Bengal leaders who have been preaching the Swadeshi cause are dishonest, why should they have invited his Lordship to do the formal and ceremonious act of declaring the Exhibition open? So taken either way, it will appear that his Lordship and our leaders cannot possibly hit it off together. If he did not want us, we shall certainly be able to do without him. So his consenting to perform the opening ceremony was clearly a great blunder. Then is our movement really dishonest? In Germany, France, America, Governments protect their infant industries by imposing taxes on imports. The Government of India should also have done the same as it professes to rule India in the interests of Indians. It failed in its duty, so the people are trying to do for themselves what the Government ought to have done years and years ago. No, Lord Minto dares not call the Emperor of Germany dishonest nor can he similarly characterise the presidents of the French or American Republics. How then can our leaders be called dishonest? Are they to be abused because they are endeavouring to do what the Government has culpably omitted to do? As head

of a despotic Gevernment, his Lordship cannot possibly sympathise with the political aspirations and agitations of the people, and it may be expected that he may maintain an unbroken silence about it. Had I been in his Lordship's position I would have done so, but why should Lord Minto call us dishonest? There is a harder word that is on my lips, but to say the least it is impolitic of Lord Minto to have said so. There it was said that Swadeshi was an industrial movement and has nothing to do with politics. We all know that Government is not engaged in commerce. It might have begun that way but it certainly does not trade now. Did it not protect British trade and adopt measures to promote it? If the Indian Government dissociates itself from the commercial aspirations of the British nation, then it will be time for Swadeshi workers to consider the question of dissociating their movement from politics. But so long as politics and commerce are blended together, in this policy of the Government of India, it will be a blunder to dissociate Swadeshi from politics. In fact, Swadeshism is a large term which includes politics, and to be a true Swadeshi one must look on all lines—whether political or industrial or economical—which converge our people towards the status of a civilised nation. Gentlemen, I insist on your emphatically repudiating the charge of dishonesty.

Swami Vivekananda

On the 9th of January 1862, was born the child Norendra, who was to become in after life Swami Vivekananda, one of the greatest preachers and spiritual thinkers that the world has known. He came of the Datta family of Simosha, a very ancient Kayastha family. His ancestors seem to have been simple and devout people of an intensely religious turn of mind. His grandfather, we are told, became a Sanyasin in the last days of his life. His father, Vishvanatha Datta, was an attorney-at-law of the Calcutta High Court. His mother, who we are happy to say is still alive, is a woman of remarkable intelligence and memory. Thus, we see the seeds of deep devotion, critical insight and keen intellect in the family, which in Swami Vivekananda bloomed and bore rich and excellent fruit.

Norendra Nath, even as a boy, showed that sympathy and fellowfeeling, that piety and devotion, that love of God and spiritual things which were to so distinguish him in later years. He was by nature of a meditative and philosophical turn of mind and this developed and deepened as he grew old. When he was at school, he was a close student of Hindu Philosophy and was a constant reader of Herbert Spencer's works. We are told that, when at college, he wrote to Herbert Spencer a letter criticising some of his philosophical speculations and that Herbert spencer struck by the performance encouraged him in his search after Truth. The nature of his studies

soon led him into agnosticism, as he himself confesses in one of his lectures. He naively says, 'I do not believe a Hindu can become an atheist. He may read European books and persuade himself he is a materialist, but only for five months, mark you. It is not in your blood.' His intensely emotional and fervently religious temperament revolted from atheism and agnosticism and he soon turned away from them. He then tried the Brahmo faith ; but Brahmoism was too narrow and constrained for his free soul and he soon gave it up. At this time, he passed through that critical stage which has marked the life of all the great religious teachers of the world—that stage which is characterised by acute mental agony and suffering resulting from the eager desire for spiritual knowledge and from the soul's hunger for The Divine Truth. He had then taken his B. A. degree and was preparing himself to enter the legal profession ; but his mind was full of darkness and doubt and yearned for a spiritual guide and teacher who could resolve its doubts and dispel its gloom.

Then it was that the Divine Light dawned upon him and his ardent soul met with the fulfilment of its long cherished hopes. It came about this way. An uncle of his was a disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, that pure and noble sage who had attained the realisation of the soul in an age of materialistic darkness. He took Vivekananda to the sage; and this proved to be a turning point in Vivekananda's life. The first interview between Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, the guru willing to teach and the pupil eager to learn, is remarkable and touching to a degree. The great sage, beyond all worldly passions and desires and spending his life in the meditation of the Great One

asks our hero to sing religious songs in praise of the Lord Sri Krishna whom he so much loved. Vivekananda complies with the request and sings in his full rich voice. The scene of the great sage sitting in his holy Ashrama, surrounded by his disciples, with his future pupil sitting by and singing, the face of the master lighted up with divine pleasure at the radiant vision of the Lord, which the song is conjuring up before his mind's eye, sends a thrill over our frame and fills with devotion every pious Hindu heart. Vivekananda at length takes leave of him, promising to return soon, alone. This meeting is a memorable one as it marks the beginning of a connection which lasts throughout the life of the teacher and changes the whole current of the future life of the pupil.

From this time forward, Vivekananda was the devout disciple of Sri Ramakrishna and learnt the eternal truths of the Vedanta at his master's feet. Many a great soul had the honour of being a disciple of this holy recluse, but Vivekananda was the foremost of them all. The Master and the disciples spent many a pleasant and instructive hour in discourses on the sacred Religion of the Vedanta and on the invaluable Truths its teachings conveyed.

Sri Ramakrishna passed away on the 16th of August 1886 and his disciples resolved to continue the holy task of their master and to lead a life of self-denial and renunciation. All of them renounced this worldly life with its trials and its pleasures and organised themselves into a Holy Order. They sacrificed all that the world considers nearest and dearest for the sake of the moral improvement of the country and the advancement of its religion. Of course, Swami Vivekananda was one of

them. He took his last and final step with joy and cheerfulness and devoted his life to the noble cause of the Vedanta. After having done some work with his brethren he retired into solitude to the Himalayas for meditation and study. He went to Tibet and studied Buddhism there. Then began his travels throughout the length and breadth of India. From Khatri, where he made the Maharaja a convert to his convictions, he went all along the West Coast to Trivandrum and thence to Madras. All the while, he untiringly preached the gospel of the Vedanta and made young Indians realize the glories of her past. When he was in Madras, some cultured men thought that it would be good if the Swami was sent to America to represent Hinduism in the Great Parliament of Religions to be held at Chicago. Accordingly they raised subscriptions, provided him with funds and sent him to America, *via.*, Japan.

When the Swami landed in America, he was in a very sorry plight. The little money he had been provided with was all spent and the Swami went about, a poor forlorn stranger begging his bread from door to door. To an old lady is due the fervent gratitude of the Hindus for having helped the Swami in his dire need. The Swami caught her eye and she thought that he would be a curious specimen for her to exhibit to her friends. She accordingly invited the Swami for a dinner which she had arranged to give to a select party of her friends. Instead of being an object of mere diversion, our Swami during dinner evoked their astonishment and admiration by his versatile powers of conversation and his rich gifts of head and heart such as are rarely displayed even in the most advanced and civilized circles. His glowing eloquence on Hindu philosophy showed

them that the Swami was a man of no mean capacity and some of his learned and abstract disquisitions were beyond the reach of their understanding. So, they asked a professor of philosophy to argue with him. The professor soon found his merit and introduced him to Dr. Barrows, the President of the Parliament of Religions who gladly put him in to represent Hinduism in the Parliament. Our Swami's appearance in that august assembly created quite a sensation. Clad in robes which were considered picturesque in the West, and venerable in the East he dwelt on the majesty and dignity of the Vedānta religion, and his voice, ringing with sympathy and full of manly sincerity, held spell-bound that vast audience and laid before the astonished gaze of the West the rich treasures of the Vedanta philosophy which is the proud heritage of the Indian People. The humble sanyasin, till now a stranger to fame burst suddenly into prominence. The West at once realized his greatness. The *New York Herald* said, "Vivekananda is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. After hearing him, we feel how foolish it is to send Missionaries to this learned Nation." The *New York Critique* observed, "He is an orator by divine right, and his strong intelligent face, in its picturesque setting of yellow and orange, was hardly less interesting than those earnest words and the rich rhythmical utterance he gave them." Letters came pouring in from all parts of America, inviting him to deliver lectures on philosophy and religion. He did noble work in America and made the Vedanta Religion popular among one of the most materialistic people in the world.

From America, he went over to England where he wielded an influence no less tremendous. In

London, he stayed two months constantly engaged in expounding the Vedas and the Upanishads. An English paper said "All sorts and conditions of men are to be found in London, but the great city contains just now none more remarkable than the philosopher who represented the Hindu religion at the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago." His labours were crowned with deserved success. His vindication of the Hindu Philosophy attracted the thinking minds, and many disciples flocked to his standard. The most notable among them were Mr. Sandsberg (afterwards Swami Kripananda) Madame Louis (afterwards Sawmi Abhayananda) Miss Margaret Noble (afterwards Sister Nivedetta) J J Godwin and Captain Seviere. These were not only his admirers but also sincere workers who contributed their energy and ability to the furtherance of the Great Cause.

On the 16th of December 1896, Vivekananda returned to his motherland. He landed at Colombo, and from Colombo to Almora his tour was one grand triumphal procession. He was received with open arms by his countrymen and was esteemed and venerated as one of the greatest regenerators and reformers in modern times. His exposition of our ancient philosophy met with ready welcome and his views received hearty acceptance. Wherever he went, he evoked enthusiasm and patriotism by the pictures he presentedof the Motherland in her bright, palmy days. But his work did not consist in mere exhortations and pulpit eloquence. He tried to secure stability and permanence to the great work he was doing. His great ambition was to get Vedanta universally accepted and to make the Hindus, the guiding star of all other nations in morality, spirituality and divine philosophy. To attain this ultimate end, he

strove to awaken the dormant consciousness of the Indian nation and to make Vedanta a living religion. He pointed to his brethren the real and great divergence that existed between their theory and practice. He asked them to weed out the many objectionable and evil practices and customs that had crept into their fold and opened thier eyes to the great moral and social deterioration that had reduced them to their present level. He reorganized the Ramakrishna Mission and founded monasteries and ashramas at Calcutta and Himalayas, for teaching ardent Hindu youths the life of devotion and self-denial. These were his head-quarters for the propagation of the New Gospel. He also started relief works in the dark days of 1897 for the poor and distressed. His work was too much for him and it began to tell upon his health. On medical advice he went again to the West to recruit his health. After a short stay in England, he went to America with his health much improved. He founded the 'Shanti' Ashrama and a Vedanta Society in San Francisco which are now in a flourishing condition. Being invited to France to represent Hinduism in the Congress of Religions held at Paris, he went there and delivered addresses on Hindu Philosophy in French. His health again began to fail and he returned to India much worse than when he left. Nevertheless, he cared more for his Cause than for his health. He established a Patasala for the education of the Indian youths and a Home for the Relief of the poor and distressed at Benares. He also founded a mutt for gathering together our itinerant Sadhus and for making them work in union in the noble cause of the Vedanta. He himself assiduously educated youths in Sanskrit philosophy and thought. At this time, a deputation of

the Japanese waited upon him to invite him to Japan to improve their tone of spirituality and to give a fresh stimulus to their religious thought. But he postponed going as his health was in a very indifferent state. But, all the same, he never relaxed his untiring labours at home for the benefit of his fellowmen.

Now, we come to the end of a noble and arduous career. It was a bright and beautiful morning in the month of July 1902. The Swami sat in solemn meditation in the early hours of the day and gave a lesson in Sanskrit Language to some new disciples. In the afternoon, he had spiritual consolation by turning to the great Truths of the Vedas and again retired to meditation and holy thoughts. He had a calm and quiet walk in the evening and on his return sat down in prayer and passed into the state of super-consciousness. At 9 o'clock in the night, his immortal soul left its bodily prison and soared away.

Swami Vivekananda's life was a short one. He lived only for 40 years, but how bright and beautiful is his career and how wonderful and magical is the influence he exercised. He had a majestic personality and rich, ringing voice. His facility of expression was remarkable. He utilized all these gifts in the cause of religion and ethics. He was thoroughly sincere and his heart was full of love and kindness towards his fellowmen. His patriotism was intense and he often dwelt with rapturous pleasure in his lectures and addresses on the greatness of India in her fresh and youthful days. His keen intellect and deep insight made him realize the great Truths of the Vedas which he spread broadcast among many a listening audience. His exposition of the Vedas met with remarkable success even in the

least expected quarters. The key to his great success lies in the fact that he presented the Vedanta religion in such a light as not to do violence to the prevailing scientific doctrines and theories. In fact, he was constantly pointing out the harmony that existed between Vedanta philosophy and modern science. He explained the Hindu system of philosophy and showed what a mass of information and wealth of thought our Upanishads contained. He was a synthetic philosopher and a constructive thinker. His was not the business of the carping critic finding fault with this religion and picking holes in that creed ; but his was the grand Mission of preaching the Vedanta religion, the vast illimitable vista of Truth, which contains or has absorbed to itself the great Truths of all the religions and which can satisfy all sorts and conditions of minds. It may be interesting to note some of his great ideas and thoughts which have contributed to the enlightenment and enrichment of the world and his exhortations to his countrymen in the matter of social and moral advancement. Let us first note some of his ideas on religion.

He defined Religion as Realization. This was the crucial idea which he wanted to fix firmly in the people's minds. He insisted on getting rid of the popular notion that by religion was meant blind faith and that Religion was something beyond the pale of reason. On the other hand he often reiterated that Reason was an indispensable handmaid to Religion. Religion is the Realization of the Athman (the soul). His argument is this. How can you reason without facts? The facts which form the basis of your reasoning now are material facts—facts which are perceived by young minds through the senses. When you wish to reason about the soul, about the state of things when your body is not—when

your senses are not, how can these material facts help you? There are certain spiritual internal facts which can be perceived by the mind if directed inward just as these material, external facts are perceived through the senses. You cannot get any help from your senses in this search after Truth as they are channels of communication with this outside world. For the realization and the perception of the Athman, these sense-doors which communicate with the outside should be closed and the mind should be turned inward. Then the great, the infinite Truth reveals itself to you. But, mark you, you cannot take the above statement of facts on trust. What is above stated is no theory or doctrine but a fact. You may realize it for yourself by introspection and meditation just as scientists discover great truths by observation and experiment. This is his famous explanation of Religion which can be found in the form of a beautiful allegorical story in the Katha Upanishad.

Another great idea of his is that everyone has got the infinite, the absolute in himself. To these who would contend that this idea will take away the basis for all morality, he says, "Such an argument is the argument of the brutes who can only be kept down by the whip. If you are such a brute, commit suicide first, rather than be such human beings" Again "This and this alone explains morality. Every religion preaches that the essence of all morality is to do good to others. And Why? Because Adwaita explains—and no religion has explained it except Adwaita—that whomsoever you hurt, you hurt yourself; they are all you." He vehemently denounced the Christian idea that all human beings are sinners; and said that everyone has got the spark of the Divine in him. This is nothing new to us, Hindus, but simply a statement of everyday experience. But the

way in which he puts it with his close reasoning and terrible logic, thrusting the doctrine home into the minds of other nations—who were horror-struck at this heteredox idea—is simply wonderful and admirable. Again, he warned us against the belief in a personal God. He criticised the conception of God as a personal being as the most selfish and foolish idea. You may have God in the image of a perfect man for the realization of the Athman (the spirit). But it is merely an image, a symbol and nothing more than that. Hindus do not worship images and idols but they worship the great One who is represented by them. God has got no form at all—much less the form of Man. He says. " Suppose a cow was philosophical and had religion, it would have a cow universe, and a cow solution of the problem, and it would not be necessary that it should see our God. Suppose cats became philosophers, they would see a cat universe and have a cat solution of the problem of the Universe, some cat ruling the Universe."

He preached also toleration and decried fanaticism and persecution as the greatest foes to true religion. His grand idea was that Religion was Realization and any particular creed is simply a means, a help towards that realization. A person can be a Mahommadan, a Christian or a Buddhist and yet may be saved. There may be so many lines radiating to the same centre and there may be ever so many roads leading to the same city. So, toleration was his watchward.

His ideal of a universal Religion is beautifully and clearly put forward. Again and again, he insists on the fact that Religion is not intellectual assent. You

774

preach Universal Brotherhood and at once form a sect for the propagation of your favourite doctrine. That is the wrong way of going to work. You should recognize the element of Truth which is in all religions. The same Truth can be presented in different lights. Every religion has its philosophy, mythology and ritual. To everyone, the philosophy of his religion is the truth of the Gospel, its mythology, a matter of history and its ritual the only sure way to heaven. The philosophy of other religions is to him dogmatic and sophistical assertions, their mythology, rank superstition, their ritual savage and diabolical rites. This surely ought not to be the way of looking at things. Every religion has got its philosophy, mythology and ritual to appeal to the human mind at the different stages of its development. One religion is as true as another ; and a universal religion should be one which recognizes this elementary principle. Its work should be constructive and not destructive. It should not aim at destroying any religious faith which a man may have but should take him at the stage where he is and lift him up. Again, there are different classes of mind which will respond only to particular kinds of stimuli. There is the thinker, the devotee, the mystic and the practical worker. A universal religion should show the way of realization which will be best suited to everyone of these persons. This need is supplied by the Upanishads. The different ways of realization of the Athman, of union with the One are known in Hindu philosophy as the Yoga. There is the Raja Yoga for the mystic, the Gnanayoga for the thinker, the Karmayoga for the worker, tha Bhaktiyoga for the devotee. The one great principle underlying all these different methods is pursuing your object without regard to the result.—In other words you should not

aim at sensual gratification as the fruit of your work. For the mind is essentially drawn away when you seek sensual gratification, and it is of the utmost importance that it should be concentrated and directed inwards for the realization of the Athman.

Thus, His whole religious teaching is invaluable for the great truths it contains and apart from its philosophical value, is rich with sound and wholesome advice for his countrymen.

His thoughts on the present social conditions are well-worth remembering. He asked us to throw away our narrow prejudices against foreign travel. He says in a letter written from Japan in 1898 "Come, be men come out of your narrow holes, and have a look abroad—see how nations are on their march—Do you love *man*? Do you love your *country*? Then come, let us struggle for nobler and higher things—Look not back—no, not even you see the dearest and nearest cry—look not back but forward march." He says that our national life is a growth and is the outcome of the development of the ages. All true reform should touch the masses and not only the upper classes. Most of the Reforms that have been agitated for during the last century have been ornamental. Every one of these reforms only touches the first two castes and no other. The question of widow—remarriage would not touch 70 p. c of the Indian women, and all such questions only reach the higher classes of the Indian people who are educated, mark you, at the expense of the masses. Every effort of these classes has been spent in cleansing their own houses and making themselves nice looking pretty before foreigners. This is no reformation. You

776

must go down to the basis of the thing; the very roots. Again he was for social reform on national lines in accordance with our old traditions and condition. "We must grow according to our natural growth. Vain it is to attempt the lines of action, foreign societies have engrafted upon us. Impossible it is. Glory unto God that it is impossible that we cannot be twisted and tortured into the shape of other nations. I do not condemn the institutions of other races; they are good for them and not for us. What is meat for them may be poison to us. This is the first lesson to learn with other sciences, other traditions and other Institutions behind them, they have got their present systems, we with our traditions, with thousands of years of karma behind us can naturally follow our own bents, run in our own grooves and that we shall have to do! On the question of caste, he was for educating the other castes and bringing them up to the level of the Brahmin rather than for lowering the Brahmin to the level of the other castes. He says very truly that caste fightings dissipate the national energy and impede the national development. The days of exclusive privileges for the Brahmin is gone; and every caste being exclusive, there is nothing in the way of any class or caste organizing itself and calling itself Brahmin. His practical advice for the non-brahmin is to learn Sanskrit. He observed, "In India, Sanskrit and Prestige go hand in hand. If a Non-Brahmin learns Sanskrit, then he is equal to a Brahmin. His advice for the Brahmin was to get rid of his ignorant perejudices and to behave towards the lower castes at least according to the dictates of ordinary commonsense. He was very severe on the point. He said 'The duty of every aristocracy i to dig its own grave and the sooner it does the b.tter The more it delays, the more it will fester and die a

worse death. It is the duty of the Brahmin, therefore, to work for the salvation of the rest of mankind in India'. On the question of Education, he says that our present system of Education, notwithstanding all its good points, is not a 'man-making education.' It is merely and entirely a negative education which is worse than death. "Again, Education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and running not there, undigested and making a battle of Waterloo all your life. We must have life-building, man-making, character-making, assimilation of ideas. If you have assimilated five ideas and made them your life and character, you have more education than any man who can give by heart the whole library.'

His speeches and letters bristle with beautiful original thoughts. In his lecture on Realization, he says—'Now, we are not much more moral than the animals in the streets. We are only held down by the whips of society. If Society said to-day 'I will not punish you if you go and steal, we should just make a rush for everyone's property. It is the policeman that makes us moral.' Then 'It is our necessities which make our heaven and our heaven changes with the change of necessities.' Again, 'Liberty is the first condition of growth.' 'Civilization of a people is not to be measured by the number of husbands its widows get'. 'Instinct is involved reason,' 'Every evolution is preceded by an involution' 'Vedas are the accumulation of the Treasury of spiritual laws discovered by men at different times.'

Thus, we see that Swami Vivakananda was a man of brilliant genius and great powers of exposition who sacrificed his life on the altar of his great cause. His

778

devotion, sincerity, sympathy and above all his glorious self-sacrifice are lessons which we may do well to deeply engrave in our hearts. He was the morning star of our Religious Revival and marks the beginning of the revolt of spiritual India against the materialistic philosophy of the West. He was untiring in preaching us union and harmonious living and warned us again and again, against fighting for favourite dogmas—and unrealizable ideals. His earnest words of advice for us are to realize the present conditions and do what we can for the benefit of our countymen without paying any regard for enjoying the fruits of our actions. May his teachings hush up all discard among us and may the memory of the patriotic sage be ever green in our minds.

THE IDEAL OF
A UNIVERSAL RELIGION.
How it must embrace different types of minds and methods.

Wheresoever our senses reach, or whatsoever our minds imagine, we find therein the action and reaction of two forces, the one counteracting the other and causing the constant play of the mixed phenomena that we see around us and of those which we feel in our minds. In the external world, the action of these opposite forces is expressing itself, in relation to physical matter, as attraction and repulsion, or as centripetal and centrifugal action. In the internal world, it explains the various mixed feelings of our nature, *viz.*, the opposites, love and hatred, good and evil. We repell some things, we attract some other things. We are

attracted by some one, we are repelled by some one else. Many times in our lives we find that without any reason whatsoever we are, as it were, attracted towards certain persons; at other times, similarly mysteriously, we are repelled by others. This is patent to all, and the higher the field of action, the more potent, the more remarkable, are the influences of these opposite forces. Religion is the highest plane of human thought and life, and herein we find that the workings of these two forces have been most marked. The intensest love that humanity has ever known has come from religion, and the most diabolical hatred that humanity has known has also come from religion. The noblest words of peace that the world has ever heard have come from men on the religious plane, and the bitterest denunciation that the world has ever known has sprung also from religious men. The higher the object of any religion, the finer its organization, the more remarkable are its activities. So we find that in religion these two forces have been very markedly active. No other human interest has deluged the world so much in blood as religion; at the same time nothing has built so many hospitals and asylums for the poor; no other human influence has taken such care, not only of humanity, but also of the lowest of animals, as religion. Nothing makes us so cruel as religion, nothing makes us so tender as religion. This has been so in the past, and will, in all probability, be so in the future also. Yet from the midst of this din and turmoil, and strife, and struggling, the hatred and jealously of religions and sects, there have arisen, from time to time, potent voices, crying above all this noice—making themselves heard from pole to pole, as it were,—crying for peace, for harmony. Will it ever come?

Our subject for discussion is, 'Is it possible that there ever should reign unbroken harmony in this plane of mighty religious struggle?' The world is agitated in the latter part of this century by considerations of harmony; in society, various plans are being proposed, various attempts are made to carry them into practice; but we know how difficult it is to do so. People find that it is almost impossible to mitigate the fury of the struggle of life, to tone down the tremendous nervous tension that is in man. Now, if it is so difficult to bring harmony and peace and love into this small span of life, the physical plane of man, the external, gross, outward side, a thousand times more difficult it is, to bring peace and harmony to rule over the internal nature of man. I would ask you for the time being to come out of the network of words ; we have all been hearing from childhood of such things as love, and peace, and charity and equality, and universal brotherhood. But they have become to us mere words without meaning, words which we repeat like parrots, and it has become quite natural for us to do so. We cannot help it. Great gigantic souls, who felt in their hearts these great ideas first, manufactured these words; and at that time many understood their meaning. Later on, ignorant people have taken up those words to play with them, and religion has become a mere play upon words in their hands, upon mere frothy words, there being nothing to them in it all to be carried into practice. It becomes "my father's religion," "our nations' religion", "your country's religion," and so forth. It becomes only a phase of patriotism to profess any religion, and patriotism is always partial. To bring harmony into religion, therefore, must be most difficult. Yet we shall try to study this problem of the harmony of religions.

781

We see that in every religion there are three parts —I mean in every great and recognized religion. First there is the philosophy—the doctrines, and the ideals of that religion—which embodies the goal, embodies, as it were, the whole scope of that religion, lays before its votaries and followers the foundation principle of that religion and the way to reach the goal; next, that philosophy is itself seen to be concretely embodied in a mythology. So the second part is mythology. This mythology comes in, in the form of lives of men, or of supernatural beings, and so forth. It is the same thing as philosophy made a little more concrete, the abstractions of philosophy concretized in the more or less imaginary lives of men and supernatural beings. The last part is the ritual. This is still more concrete, and is made up of forms and ceremonies, various physical attitudes, flowers and incense, and many other things that appeal to the senses. In this consists the ritual. You will find that, everywhere, recognized religions have all these three elements. Some lay more stress on one element, some on the other. Let us first take into consideration the first part, philosophy. Is there any one universal philosophy for the whole world? Not yet. Each religion brings out its own doctrines, and insists upon them as being the only true ones. And not only does it do that, but it thinks that the man who does not believe in them, must go to some horrible place. Some of them will not stop there; they will even draw the sword to compel others to believe as they do. This is not through wickedness, but through a particular disease of the human brain called fanaticism. They are very sincere, these fanatics, the most sincere of human beings; but they are quite as irresponsible as all other lunatics are in the world.

This disease of fanaticism is one of the most dangerous of all diseases. All the wickedness of human nature is roused by it. Anger is stirred up, nerves are strung high, and human beings become like tigers. Then again is there any mythological similarity, is there any mythological harmony, any universal mythology accepted by all religions? Certainly not. All religions have their own mythology, only each of them says "*My* stories are not mere myths." For instance let us try to take the question home here. I simply mean to illustrate it; I do not mean any criticism of any religion. The Christian believes that God took the shape of a dove, and came down to the earth; and to him this is history, and not mythology. The Hindu believes that God is manifested in the cow. Christians say that to believe so is mere mythology, and not history, that it is superstition. The Jews think that, if an image be made in the form of a box, or a chest, with an angel on either side, then it may be placed in the Holy of Holies; it is sacred to Jehovah; but if the image be made in the form of a beautiful man or woman, they say "This is a horrible idol; break it down!" This is our unity in mythology! If a man stands up and says "My prophet did such and such a wonderful thing," others say that it is all superstition; but their own prophet did a still more wonderful thing; they hold that it is historical. Nobody in the world, as far as I have seen, is able to find out the fine distinction between history and mythology, as it exists in the brains of these gentlemen. All such stories, to whomsoever they may belong, are really mythological, mixed up occasionally, it may be, with a little history.

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782

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Next come the rituals. One sect has one particular form of ritual, and thinks that that is the holy form, and that the rituals of another sect are simply arrant superstition. If one sect worships a peculiar sort of symbol, another sect says "Oh it's horrible." Take for instance the most general form of symbol. The phallus symbol is certainly a sexual symbol, but gradually that aspect of it has been forgotten, and it stands now as a symbol of the Creator. Those nations which have this as their symbol never think of it as the phallus; it is just a symbol, and there it ends. But a man from another race or creed sees in it nothing but the phallus, and begins to condemn it; yet at the same time he may be doing something which to this so-called phallic worshipper appears most horrible. Let me take two points for illustration, the phallus symbol and the sacrament of the Christians. To the Christians the phallus is horrible, and to the Hindus the Christian sacrament is horrible. They say that the Christian sacrament, the killing of a man and the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood to get the good qualities of that man, is cannibalism. This is what some of the savage tribes do; if a man is brave they kill him and eat his heart, because they think that it will give them the qualities of courage and bravery possessed by that man. Even such a devout Christian as Sir John Lubbock admits this, and says that the origin of this Christian symbol is in this savage idea. The Christians generally do not admit this view of its origin; and what it may imply never comes to their mind. It stands for a holy thing, and that is all they want to know. So even in rituals there is no universal symbol, which can command general recognition and acceptance. Where then is any universality? How is it

784

possible then to have a universal form of religion? That, however, already exists. And let us see what it is.

We all hear about universal brotherhood, and how societies stand up particulary to preach this. I remember an old story. In India, wine drinking is considered very horrible. There were two brothers who wanted to drink some wine, secretly, in the night ; and their uncle, who was a very strongly old-fashioned man, was sleeping in a room quite near where they were going to have their drinking. So, before they began to drink, each of them said to the other, " Silence, uncle will wake up." As they went on drinking, they began to shout to each other, " Silence uncle will wake up. " And, as the shouting increased, uncle woke up; and he came into the room, and found out the whole thing. Universal brotherhood—that is, we all shout like drunken men. " We are all equal, therefore let us make a sect." As soon as you make a sect you protest against equality, and thus it is no more. Mohammedans talk of universal brotherhood, but what comes out of them in reality ? Nobody who is not a Mohammedan will be admitted into the brotherhood ; he will have his throat cut. The Christians talk of universal brotherhood ; but anyone who is not a Christian must go to that place, and be eternally barbecued.

It is thus that we are being carried on in this world in our search after universal brotherhood and equality, universal equality of property, and thought, and everything. And I would simply ask you to look askance, and be a little reticent, and take a little care yourselves when you hear such talk in this world ; behind it many times comes the intensest selfishness. "In the winter sometimes a cloud comes; it roars and roars,

but it does not rain ; but in the rainy season the clouds speak not, but deluge the world with water." So those who are *really* workers, and *really* feel at heart the universal brotherhood of man, do not talk much, do not make little sects for universal brotherhood ; but their acts, their whole body, their posture, their movements, their walk, eating, drinking, their whole life show out clearly that they in truth possess the feeling of brotherhood for mankind that they have love and sympathy for all. They do not speak, they *do* and they *live*. This world is getting full of blustering talk. We want a little more of earnest work, and much less of talk.

So far we see that it is hard to find any universal features in regard to religion, and yet we know that they exist. We are all human beings, but are we all equal? Certainly not. Who says we are equal? Only the man who is a lunatic ; he alone can say we are all equal. Are we all equal in our brains, in our powers, in our bodies? One man is stronger than another, one man has more brain power than another. If we are all equal, why is there this inequality? Who made it? We? Because we have more or less of brain, more or less of physical strength, it must make a difference between one and another of us. Yet we know that the doctrine of equality appeals to our hearts. Take another case. We are all human beings here; but there are some men, and some women. Here is a black man, there a white man; but all are men, all belong to one humanity. Various are our faces; I see no two faces here the same, yet we are all human beings. Where is this one humanity? I cannot find it. When I try to analyse it, I do not find where it is.

Either I find a man or a woman ; either dark or fair ; and among all these faces, that abstract humanity which is the common thing—I do not find it when I try to grasp it, to sense it, and actualize it, and think of it. It is beyond the senses ; it is beyond thought, beyond the mind. Yet I know and I am certain that it is there. If I am certain of anything here, it is of this humanity which is common to us all. I cannot directly and distinctly perceive it. This humanity is a manifestation of God. "In Him we live and move and have our being." It is through this generalised entity that I see you as a man or a woman ; yet, when I try to catch and formulate it, it is nowhere, because it is beyond the senses ; and yet we know that in it, and through it, everything exists. So it is with this universal one-ness and sympathy, this universal religion which runs through all the various religions of the world in the form of God ; it must and does exist through eternity. "I am the thread that runs through all these pearls," and each pearl is a religion or even a sect thereof. Such are the different pearls, and the Lord is the thread that runs through all of them ; only the majority of mankind are entirely unconscious of it ; yet they are all working in God, and through God ; not a moment can they stand outside, because all work is only possible through and in Him ; we cannot define Him, He is God himself.

Unity in variety is the plan of the universe. We are all men, and yet we are all distinct from one another. As Humanity I am one with you, and as Mr. So-and-So I am different from you. As a man you are separate from the woman ; as a human being you are one with the woman. As a man you are separate from the animal, but as a living being, the man, the woman, the ani-

mal, the plant, are all one ; and as existence, you are one with the whole universe. That universal existence is God, the ultimate unity in the universe. In Him we are all one. At the same time, in manifestation, these differences must and will always remain. In our work, in our energies as they are being manifested outside, these differences must continue to remain always. We find then that, if by the idea of a universal religion it is meant that one set of doctrines should be believed in by all mankind, it is wholly impossible ; it can never be, there can never be a time when all faces will be the same. Again if we expect that there will be one universal mythology, that is also impossible; it cannot be. Neither can there be one universal ritual. Such a state of things can never come into existence; if it ever did, the world would be destroyed, because variety is the first principle of life. What makes us formed beings? Differentiation. Perfect balance would be our destruction. Suppose the amount of heat in this room, the tendency of which is towards equal and perfect diffusion, gets that kind of diffusion, then for all practical purposes that heat will cease to be. What makes motion possible in this universe? Lost balance, that is all. The unity of sameness can come only when this universe is destroyed, otherwise such a thing is impossible. Not only so, it is dangerous to have it. We must not seek that all of us should think alike. There would then be no thought to think. We would be all alike, like the Egyptian mummies in a museum, looking at each other without a thought to think. It is this difference, this differentiation, this losing of the balance between us, which is the very soul of our progress, the soul of all our thought. This must always be.

788

What then do I mean by the ideal of universal religion? I do not mean any one universal philosophy, or any one universal mythology, or any one universal ritual, held alike by all ; but I mean that this world must go on working with its wheel within wheel, this intricate mass of complex machinery, most intricate, most wonderful. What can *we* do then? We may make it run smoothly, we may lessen the friction, we may grease the wheels, as it were. How? By recognizing the natural necessity of variation. Just as we have recognized unity by our very nature, so we must learn that truth may be expressed in a hundred thousand ways, and that each of these ways is true as far as it goes. We must learn that the same thing can be viewed from a hundred different standpoints, and yet be the same thing. Take for instance the sun. Suppose a man standing on the earth looks at the sun when it rises in the morning; he sees a big ball. Suppose he starts on a journey towards the sun and takes a camera with him, taking photographs at every stage of his journey ; at every thousand miles, say, he takes a fresh photograph, and goes on until he reaches the sun. The photographs of each stage may be seen to be different from those of the other stages; in fact, when he gets back, he brings with him so many thousands of photographs of so many different suns, as it would appear; and yet we know that the same sun was photographed by the man at the different stages of his progress. Even so is it with the Lord. Greater or less, through high philosophy or low, through the highest or lowest doctrines, through the most refined mythology or the most gross one, through the most refined ritualism or the grossest fetishism, every sect, every soul, every nation, every religion, consciously or unconsciously, is struggling

upward, Godward ; and every vision of truth that man has is a vision of Him and of none else. Suppose that every one of us goes with a vessel in his or her hand to fetch water from a lake. Suppose one has a cup, another a jar, another a bigger jar, and so forth, and we all fill our vessels. When we take them up, the water in each case has naturally got into the form of the vessel owned by each of us. He who brought the cup, has the water in the form of a cup ; he who brought the jar, his water is in the shape of a jar ; and so forth ; but, in every case, water, and nothing but water, is in the vessel. So it is in the case of religion ; our minds are like these little vessels, and each one of us is trying to arrive at the realisation, God. God is like that water filling these different vessels, and in each vessel, the vision of God comes in the form of the vessel. Yet God is One. He is God in every one of the visions. This is the only recognition of universality that we can get at.

So far it is all right theoretically, but is there any way of practically working out this religious harmony? We find that this recognition, that all the various views of religion are true, has been very very old. Hundreds of attempts have been made in India, in Alexendria, in Europe, in China, in Japan, in Thibet, latest in America— in various countries attempts have been made to formulate a harmonious religious creed to make all religions come together in love. They have all failed because they did not adopt any practical plan. Many have admitted that all the religions of the world are right, but they show no practical way of bringing them together, so as to enable each of them to maintain its own individuality in the conflux. That plan alone is practical, which does not destroy the individuality of

790

any man in religion, and at the same time shows him a point of union with all others. But so far, all the plans of religious harmony that have been tried, while proposing to take in all the various views of religion, have in practice, tried to bind them all down to a few set doctrines, and so have produced more and more of fresh sects, fighting, struggling, and pushing against each other.

I have also my little plan. I do not know whether it will work or not, and I want to present it to you for discussion. What is my plan? In the first place I would ask mankind to recognize this maxim—"Do not destory." Iconoclastic reformers do no good to the world. Break not, pull not anything down, but build. Help, if you can; if you cannot, fold your hands and stand by and see things go on. Do not injure, if you cannot render help. Say not a word against any man's convictions so far as they are sincere. Secondly, take man where he stands, and from thence give him a lift. If it be right that God is the centre of the circle of religions, and that each of us is moving towards Him along one of the radii, it is then certain that all of us *must* reach that centre. And at the centre, where all the radii meet, all our differences will cease; but until we have come there, differences there must be. All these radii do converge to the same centre. One of us is by nature travelling along one of these lines, and another along another; and we have all to push on along the line we are in, and we shall all surely come to the centre, because "All roads lead to Rome." Each of us is naturally growing and developing according to his own nature; each will in time come to know the highest truth, for after all men must teach themselves. What can you and I do? Do you

think you can teach even a child? You cannot. The child teaches himself. Your duty is to afford opportunities and to remove obstacles. A plant grows. Do *you* make the plant grow; Your duty is to put a hedge round and see that no animal eats up the plant, and there it ends. The plant must grow itself. So it is in regard to the spiritual growth of every man. None can teach you ; none can make a spiritual man of you; you have to teach yourself ; your growth must come from inside.

What can an external teacher do? He can remove the obstructions a little, and there his duty ends. Therefore help, if you can ; but do not destroy. Give up all ideas that *you* can make men spiritual. It is impossible. There is no other teacher to you than your own soul. Admit this. What comes of it? In society we see so many various natures of man. There are thousands and thousands of varieties of minds and inclinations. A practical and thorough generalization is impossible, but for my purpose it is sufficient to have them characterized into four classes. First there is the active working man ; he wants to work ; there is tremendous energy in his muscles and his nerves. His aim is to work, build hospitals, do charitable deeds, make streets, perform all sorts of work, planning, organizing ; he is an active man. There is the emotional man, who loves the sublime and the beautiful to an excessive degree. He wants to think of the beautiful, to enjoy the æsthetic side of nature, adore Love and the God of Love ; it is these things he likes. He loves with his whole heart those great souls of ancient times, the prophets of religions, the incarnations of God on earth ; he does not care whether reason can or cannot prove that Christ existed, or that Buddha

existed ; he does not care for the exact date when the *Sermon On The Mount* was preached, or for the exact moment of Krishna's birth; what he cares for is His personality, the lovable figure before him. He does not at all care to know whether it can or cannot be proved that those who are the ideal objects of his love really existed or not. Such a nature, as I have pictured, is the lover; he is the emotional man. Then there is the mystic man, whose mind wants to analyse its own self, understand the workings of the human mind, its psychology, what the forces are that are working inside, how to manipulate and know and obtain control over them. This is the mystical mind. There is then the philosopher, who wants to weigh everything and use his intellect even beyond the possibilities of all human philosophy.

Now a religion, to satisfy the largest proportion of mankind, must be able to supply food for all these various types of minds; and where this capability is wanting, the existing sects become all one-sided. You go to one sect. Suppose they preach love and emotion. They begin to sing and weep, and they preach love and all sorts of good things in life ; but as soon as you say "My friend, that is all right, but I want something stronger than that ; give me an ounce of reason, a little philosophy ; I want to handle things step by step and little more rationally." "Get out," they say, and they not only ask you to get out, but would send you to the other place, if they could. The result is this—that sect can only help people of an emotional mind, and none else ; others, they not only do not help, but try to destroy ; and the most wicked part of the whole thing is, that they will not only *not* help others, but do not believe

that these others are sincere, and think that the sooner these others get out the better it would be for all concerned. There is the failing of the whole thing. Suppose you are in a sect of a philosophers, talking of the mystic wisdom of India and the East and using all the big psychological terms fifty syllables long, and suppose a man like me, a common every-day man goes there and says "Can you tell me anything to make me spiritual?" The first thing they do is to smile and say "Oh you are too far below us in reason to be with us! What do you know of spirituality?" There are high-up philosophers. They simply show you the door. Then there are the mystical sects, who say all sorts of things about different planes of existence, different states of the mind, and what the power of the mind can do and so on; and if you are an ordinary man and say "Show me anything good that I can do; I am not given much to that sort of speculation; can you give me anything that fits me?" They will smile at you, and say "Look at that fool; he is nobody: the only thing we advise you to do is to commit suicide, your existence is for nothing." And this is going on everywhere in the world. I would like to get extreme exponents of all these different sects, and shut them up in a room, and photograph that beautiful derisive smile of theirs!

This is the existing fashion of religious human nature, the existing condition of things. What I want to propagate is a religion that will be equally acceptable to all minds; it must be equally philosophic, equally emotional, equally mystic, and equally conducive to action. If your professors from the Colleges come, your scientific men and physicists, they will court reason. Let them have it as much as they desire.

There must be a point where they will all have to give up sticking to reason, and say that they cannot go beyond. If they say "Give up this or that thing, it is superstitious; these ideas of God and salvation, are superstition"; I say "Mr. Philosopher, it is a bigger superstition, this body of yours. Give *it* up, don't go home to dinner or to your philosophic chair. Give up the body, and if you cannot, cry quarter, and sit down there." In every religion there must be the philosophic side, and we must be able to show how philosophy teaches us that this world is all one, that there is but one all-comprehending existence in the universe. Similarly, if the mystic comes, we must be ready to give him the science of mental analysis, and practically demonstrate it before him. Here you are come, learn; nothing is "done in a corner." And if emotional people come, we must sit with them and laugh with them and weep and weep with them in the name of the Lord; we must "drink the cup of love and become mad." If the energetic worker comes we must, go and work with him, work with all the energy that he has. And this combination will be the ideal of the nearest approach to a universal religion. Would to God that all men were so harmoniously built up, that in their minds, *all* these various elements of philosophy of mysticism, of emotion, and of work were equally fully present! And yes, that is the ideal, my ideal of a perfect man. Everyone who has only one or two of these elements of character, I call "one-sided"; and this world is almost full of such "one-sided" men, with the knowledge of the only one road in which they can move; and anything else is dangerous and horrible to them. The attempt to help mankind to become beautifully balanced in all these four directions, is *my*

ideal of religion. And this religion is what we, in India, call *Yoga*—union between God and man, union between the lower self and the higher self. To the worker, it is union between men and the whole of humanity ; to the mystic between his lower and higher self ; to the lover, union between him and the God of love ; and to the philosopher it is the *one* union of *all* existence. This is what is meant by *Yoga.* This is a Sanskrit term, and these four divisions of our *Yoga* have in Sanskrit different names. The man who seeks after this kind of union is called a *Yogin.* The worker is called the *Karma-Yogin.* He who seeks the union through love is called the *Bhakti-Yogin.* He who seeks it through mysticism is called the *Raja-Yogin.* And he who seeks it through philosophy is called the *Jnana-Yogin.* So this word *Yogin* comprises them all.

Now first of all let me take up *Raja-Yoga.* What is this *Raja-Yoga*, this controlling of the mind? In this country you are associating all sorts of hobgoblins with the word *Yoga.* I am afraid, therefore, I must start by telling you that it has nothing to do with such things. No one of these *Yogas* gives up reason, no one of them asks you to deliver your reason, hoodwinked, into the hands of priests of any type whatever. No one of them asks you to give your allegiance to any super-human messenger. Each one of them tells you to *cling* to your reason, to hold fast to reason. We find in all beings three sorts of instruments of knowledge. The first is instinct, which you find most highly developed in animals, and to some degree in man also—this is the lowest instrument of knowledge. What is the second instrument of knowledge ? Reasoning. You find that most highly developed in men. Now in the first place instinct is an inadequate

instrument; of animals the sphere of the action is very limited, and within that limit instinct acts. When you come to man, you see it is largely developed into reason. The sphere of action also has here become enlarged. Yet even reason is still very insufficient. Reason can go only a little way and then it stops. There, it tells us that it cannot go any further; and if you try to push it further, the result is helpless confusion, reason itself becomes unreasonable. The whole of logic then becomes an argument in a circle. Take for instance the very basis of our perception, matter and force. What is matter? That which is acted upon by force. And force? That which acts upon matter. You see the complication, what the logicians call see-saw, one idea depending on the other, and this again depending on that. You find a mighty barrier before reason, beyond which reasoning cannot go; yet it always feels impatient to get into the region of the infinite beyond. This world of ours, this universe which our senses feel, or our mind thinks of, is but one bit so to say of the infinite, projected into the plane of consciousness; and within that narrow limit, which has been defined by the network of consciousness, works our reason, and not beyond. Therefore there must be some other instrument to take us beyond, and that instrument is called inspiration. So instinct, reason, and inspiration are the three instruments of knowledge. Instinct belongs to animals, reason to men, and inspiration to God-men. But in all human beings are to be found in a more or less developed condition the germs of all these three instruments of knowledge. To get these mental instruments evolved the germs must be there. And this must also be remembered, that one instrument is a development out of the other, and

therefore does not contradict the other. It is reason that develops into inspiration, and therefore inspiration does not contradict reason, but fulfils it. Things which reason cannot get at, are brought to light by inspiration; and they do not contradict reason. The old man does not contradict the child, but fulfils the child. Therefore you must always bear in mind that the great danger here lies in mistaking the lower form of instrument to be the higher. Many times instinct is presented before the world as inspiration, and then come all the spurious claims for the gift of prophecy. A fool or a semi-lunatic thinks that the confusion going on in his brain is inspiration, and he wants men to follow him. The most contradictory, irrational, nonsense that has been preached in the world is simply the instinctive jargon of confused lunatic brains trying to pass for the language of inspiration.

The first test of true teaching must be, that the teaching should *not* contradict reason. And you may see that such is the basis of all these *Yogas*. We take the *Raja-Yoga*, the psychological *Yoga*, the psychological way to union. It is a vast subject, and I can only point out to you now the central idea of this *Yoga*. There is but one method that we have, in regard to acquiring all knowledge. From the lowest to the highest, from the smallest worm to the highest *Yogin*, all have to use the same method; and that method is what is called concentration. The chemist who is working in his laboratory has concentrated all the powers of his mind, and brought them into one focus, and thrown them on the elements; and they stand analysed, and his knowledge comes out. The astronomer has also concentrated the powers of his mind, and brought them into one focus; and he throws them on to

798

objects through his telescope, and stars and systems roll forward, and give up their secrets to him. So it is in every case; with the professor in his chair, the student with his book, with every man who is working to know. You are hearing me, and if my words interest you, your mind will become concentrated on them; and then suppose a clock strikes or something happens, you will not at all know that on account of this concentration; and the more you are able to concentrate your mind the better you will understand me, and the more I concentrate my love and powers, the better I shall be able to give expression to what I want to convey to you; and the more this power of concentration is in the mind, the more knowledge can it get, because this is the one and only method of acquiring knowledge. Even the lowest shoeblack, if he has more concentration he will black the shoes the better; the cook with concentration will cook a meal the better. In making money, or in worshipping God, or in doing anything, the stronger the power of concentration, the better will that thing be done. This is the one kind of call, the one knock, which opens the gates of nature, and lets out the floods of light. This is the only key to the treasure-house of knowledge, the one power of concentration. The system of *Raja-Yoga* deals almost exclusively with this. In the present state of our body we are so much distracted, the mind is frittering away its energies upon a hundred sorts of things. As soon as I try to calm my thoughts, and concentrate my mind upon any one object of knowledge, thousands of undesired impulses rush into the brain, thousands of varied thoughts rush into the mind and disturb it. How to check that—bring the mind under control—this is the whole subject of study in *Raja-Yoga*.

We take the next, *Karma-Yoga*, the attainment of God through work. It is evident in society how there are so many persons who seem to be born for some sort of activity or other, whose mind cannot be concentrated on the plane of thought alone, and who have but one idea which is to them concretised in work, visible and tangible. There must be a science for this kind of life too. Each one of us is engaged in some kind of work, but the majority of us fritter away the greater portion of our energies, because we do not know the secret of how to work. Where and when to work and how to work is the secret; how to employ well the largest part, if not the whole, of our energies, how to bring them all to bear on the work that is before us ; and along with this secret comes also into consideration the knowledge of the great objection against all work, namely, that work must and does cause pain. All misery and pain come from attachment. I want to do work, I want to do good to a human being; and it is ninety to one that that human being, whom I have helped, will prove ungrateful, and go against me; and the result to me is pain. Such things will deter mankind from working; and it spoils a good portion of the work and energy of mankind, this fear of pain and of misery. *Karma-Yoga* teaches us how to work for work's sake, unattached, without caring who is helped, and what for. The *Karma-Yogin* works through his own nature, because he feels that it is good for him to go on doing work, and he has no object beyond that. His station in this world is that of a giver, and he never cares to receive any thing. He knows that he is giving, and does not ask for anything in return and therefore he eludes the grasp of misery. The grasp of pain, whenever it comes, is the result of the reaction of "attachment."

There is then the *Bhakti-Yoga* for the man of emotional nature, the lover. He wants to love God, he relies upon and uses all sorts of rituals, flowers, and incense, beautiful buildings, forms, and all such things. Do you mean to say they are wrong? One fact I must tell you. It is better for you to remember, in this country especially, that the world's great spiritual giants have all been produced only by those religious sects which have been in possession of very rich mythology and ritual. All those sects that have attempted to worship God without any form or ceremony, have crushed without mercy everything that is beautiful and sublime in religion. Their religion is a fanaticism at best, a dry thing. The history of the world is a standing witness to this fact. Therefore do not decry these rituals and these mythologies. Let people have them; let those who so desire go through them. Do not exhibit that unworthy derisive smile, and say "They are fools; let them have it." Not so; the greatest men I have seen in my life, the most wonderfully developed in spirituality, have all come from the discipline of these rituals. I do not hold myself worthy to stand at their feet. For *me* to criticise *them!* How do I know how these ideas act upon the human mind, which I am to accept and which to reject? We are apt to go on criticising in the world without sufficient warrant. Therefore let them have it. Let people have all the mythology they want, all its beautiful inspirations they stand in need of; for you must always bear in mind that these emotional natures do not care for your abstract definitions of the truth. God to them is something which is almost tangible, the only thing that is real; they feel, hear and see it and love it; they do not stop to analyze it. Your rationalist seems to them to be like that fool, who, when he saw a beautiful statute, wanted to break it to

pieces to make out the material it was made of. Let them have their God. *Bhakti-Yoga* teaches them how to love, how to love without any ulterior motives, loving God and loving the good because it is good to do so, not for going to heaven, nor, for instance, to get children, or wealth, or anything else. It teaches them that love itself is the highest recompense of love—the old doctrine that God himself is love. It teaches them to pay all kinds of tribute to God as the Creator, the omnipresent, omniscient, almighty Ruler, the Father and the Mother; the highest phrase that can mention Him, the highest idea that the human mind can conceive of him, is that he is the God of love. Wherever there is love, it is He. "Wherever there is any love, it is He, the Lord, present there." Where the husband kisses the wife, He is there in the kiss; where the mother kisses the child, He is there in the kiss; friends clasp their hands, He, the Lord, is there present in the hand-clasp, standing as the God of Love. When a great man loves and wishes to help mankind, He is there giving freely His bounty out of His love to mankind. Wherever the heart expands, He is there manifested. This is what the *Bhakti-Yoga* teaches.

We lastly come to the *Jnana-Yogin*, the philosopher the thinker, he who wants to go beyond the visible. He is the man who is not satisfied with any or all of the little things of this world. His idea is to go far beyond the daily routine of eating, drinking and so on. Not even the teaching of thousands of books will satisfy him. Not even the whole circle of the sciences will satisfy him. They only bring this little world at best before him. What else give him satisfaction? Not even myriads of systems of worlds like those in the Milky Way, not even the whole of the

phenomenal universe itself, will satisfy him ; all that is to him only a drop in the ocean of existence. His soul wants to go beyond all that into the very heart of being, by seeing reality as it is ; by realizing it, by being it, by becoming one with that Universal Being. That is the philosopher, to him God is not merely the Father or the Mother, not merely the Creator of this universe, its Protector, its Guide ; these are all inadequate words to express Him. To him God is the life of his life, the soul of his soul. God is his own Self. Nothing else then remains attached to him which is other than God. All the mortal parts of him become pounded by the weighty strokes of philosophy, and are brushed away. What at last truly remains is God Himself.

Upon the same tree there are two birds, one on the top, the other rather below. The one on the top is calm and silent, majestic, immersed in its own glory ; the one below, on the lower branches, eating sweet and bitter fruits by turns, hopping from branch to branch, is becoming happy and miserable by turns. After a time the lower bird eats an exceptionally bittter fruit, and gets disgusted and looks up ; and there is the other bird, that wondrous one of golden plumage. He eats nothing, neither sweet nor bitter. Neither is he happy nor miserable, but calm ; the selfcentred one, nothing beyond his self. But the lower bird soon forgets this condition of the higher, and again begins to eat the sweet and bitter fruits of that tree. In a little while another exceptionally bitter fruit comes ; he feels again miserable, looks up and goes forward, and tries to get nearer and nearer to the upper bird. Again he forgets and again looks up, and so he goes on again and again. Afer a time a very exceptionally bitter fruit comes, again he looks up, and comes nearer, and nearer, and

nearer, the reflections of light from the plumage of that bird play around his own body, and he changes and seems to melt away; still nearer he comes, everything about him melts away altogether, and at last he understands this wonderful change. The lower bird was, as it were, only the substantial-looking shadow, the reflection; he, himself, was in essence the upper bird all the time. The eating of fruits sweet and bitter, this lower little bird, weeping and happy by turns, was a vain chimera, a dream: all along the real bird was there above, calm and silent, glorious and majestic, beyond grief, beyond sorrow. The upper bird is God, the Lord of this universe; and the lower bird is the human soul, eating the sweet and bitter fruits of this world. Now and then comes a heavy blow to this soul. For a time he stops the eating and goes towards the unknown God just for a moment, and a flood of light comes. He thinks that this world is a vain one. He goes a little further, yet again the senses drag him down, and he begins as before to eat the sweet and bitter fruits of the world. Again an exceptionally hard blow comes. His heart becomes open again to divine light; thus he approaches and approaches, and as he gets nearer and nearer, he finds his old self melting away, and learns that he is no other than God. When he has come near enough he exclaims, "He whom I have preached to you as the Life of this universe, as He who is present in the atom, who is present in the big suns and moons, He is the basis of our own life, the back ground of our soul. Nay, thou art That." That is what this *Jnana-Yoga* teaches. It tells man that he is essentially divine. It shows to mankind the real unity of being, that each one of us is the Lord God Himself, manifested on earth. All of us, from the lowest worm that crawls under our feet to the highest beings at whom we look

804

with wonder and awe, all are manifestations of the same Lord.

Lastly, it is imperative that all these various *Yogas* have to be carried out in practice ; mere theories about them will not do any good. First we have to hear about them, then we have to think about them. We have to reason the thoughts out, impress them, on our minds, and we have to meditate on them, realize them, until they at last become our whole life. No longer will religion remain as a bundle of ideas or theories, it enters into our very Self. Religion is realization, not talk, nor doctrine, nor theories, however beautiful they may be. It is being and becoming, not hearing or acknowledging; it is not an intellectual assent, but the whole soul becoming changed into what it believes in. That is religion. By means of intellectual assent we may to-day subscribe to many foolish things, and change our mind altogether the next day ; but this being and becoming is what is lastingly religion.

Lala Hans Raj

Thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart,
Pure as the heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness ; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

Wordsworth, Sonnet to Milton.

" There is no surer method," says Professor Blackie, " of becoming good, and it may be great also, than an early familiarity with the lives of great and good men." " So far as my experience goes," continues he, " there is no kind of sermon so effective as the example of a great man. Here we see the thing done before us—actually done—a thing of which we were not even dreaming ; and the voice speaks forth to us with a potency like the voice of many waters, *Go thou and do likewise.*"

Having known the saintly principle of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College for so many years, we are convinced that the study of his life is a " Sure method of becoming good and may be great also." He has profoundly affected the public life of the province by his selfless labours for the last 28 years. In fact, if we were asked to name one man who has contributed most to the growth and development of genuine public spirit in the Punjab, we would without a moment's hesitation name Lala Hans Raj. In his own province his name is *not* a household word, as some other names are; in other provinces he is very little known. But if he does not dazzle his countrymen

and shed a fierce light extending even to the remote corners of the Motherland, it is because by nature he is quiet, and the bustle of life is positively distasteful to him; it is because he chooses not to dazzle but merely to warm.

Lala Hans Raj was born in 1864, in the small romantic and historic town of Bajwara, situated at the foot of the Himalayan Range, at a distance of three miles from Hoshiarpore. The town still possesses the ruins of magnificent buildings and the dilapidated remains of a fortress built by Raja Sansar Chand, the powerful Katoch chief, to bear witness to the grandeur which it once possessed. It stands on the banks of a natural brook, and is surrounded, on all sides by a jungle of small growth, interspersed with lofty tress of all sorts, presenting, on the whole, a scenery which is most calculated to expand the faculties of observation and natural appreciation. It was in the midst of this beautiful natural scenery that the infant and child Hans Raj was brought up. Even to-day the appreciation of natural beauty is a feature in his life and whenever he can snatch a little time from his multifarious engagements, he goes out to roam in the forest on the banks of the *Ravi*.

Lala Hans Raj was hardly ten years of age when his father seemed to be going the way of all the mortals. Seeing the approaching end of her husband, the mother of Lala Hans Raj pointed to her children and referred to the poverty of the family. The dying father of Lala Hans Raj said, "We have two boys—Mulk Raj and Hans Raj—; something whispers into my ear that this poverty will not last long and that the family will not always remain in obscurity." Those

words have proved prophetic. Lala Mulk Raj is now the Managing Director of a Bank at Lahore, and Lala Hans Raj, in spite of his poverty, rather on account of his voluntary poverty, has made Bajwara known thoughout the province. The aged mother of Lala Hans Raj still vividly remembers the talk with her dying husband.

Lala Mulk Raj got an employment in the Railway Department; Lala Hans Raj came to Lahore and joined the local Mission School. In the school he attracted general notice on account of his modesty, simplicity of manner, earnestness and intelligence. He became a favourite of the Christian Headmaster. Here a little incident took place which however proved far-reaching in its effects. One day the Headmaster made some very uncomplimentary remarks about the civilisation of the ancient Aryans and asserted that like savages of other countries they were the worshippers of stocks and stones. The remarks excited Lala Hans Raj, particularly because while making these remarks the teacher addressed *him* by name. Lala Hans Raj said that the statement was not correct and was merely a calumny against his religion. Both the teacher and the pupil were ignorant of Sanskrit. The Headmaster quoted the authority of a Reader that was being used as a class book. The pupil put in Qasas-i-Hind (Tales from Indian History) in support of his view, because according to this book the Veda taught pure monotheism. Both lost their temper and the Headmaster turned Lala Hans Raj out of the class-room.

This drove Lala Hans Raj to the Arya Samaj. He wanted to know what account of the matter the

Arya Samajists could give. The Arya Samaj of Lahore was then an infant institution, having been established only two years before, in, 1877, on the occasion of Swami Dayanand's first visit to this city. The man at the head of the Lahore Arya Samaj at that time was one whose sagacity and wisdom, patriotism and piety, combined with the rare virtues of moderation and business-talents, have enshrined his name in the holiest recesses of the hearts of all his fellow believers, and have raised him to a position to which none can aspire, among those who have come after him. This great man, Lala Sain Das, is justly regarded as the patriarch of the Arya Samaj. To him Lala Hans Raj introduced himself as a seeker after truth and found in him a man who was capable of teaching something valuable. Lala Sain Das on the other hand found in Lala Hans Raj an earnest youth on whom time and energy could be spent with advantage. Their relations became intimate. The Magnetic influence of Lala Sain Das transformed the entire nature of Lala Hans Raj and gave an impetus to the power and patriotism that so far lay latent in him. To see Lala Sain Das and pass sometime with him soon became a daily need with the subject of this sketch, and there is none to whom Lala Hans Raj feels more grateful even to-day than to the religious instructor of his youth. *He believes that life comes from life and that the living word of a living teacher is more potent than the dead word of a book.* He always exhorts young men to select some one whom they can regard with feelings of reverence and then to come in intimate, close, contact with him and receive inspiration. That, in his opinion, is the way to be good, and it may be great also.

Lala Hans Raj passed his Matriculation examination in 1880, doing in four years the work that engaged

other students for about seven years. He then joined the Local Government College—then the only Arts College in the city. Here he was fortunate in making acquaintance of Lala Lajpat Rai, the late Lala Chetan Anand and the late Pandit Guru Datta. The acquaintance soon ripened into intimate friendship. They little thought during those days that they were destined to play an important part in the building of the nation and that they would all work in the same sphere of life. Lala Lajpat Rai is now known everywhere for his patriotic fervour and philanthropic labours; 'not to know him argues oneself unknown'. Pandit Guru Datta's career was cut short in the prime of youth, but he lived long enough to create an almost universal impression that he was the best product of the university. Even now, a *Second Guru Datta*, signifies, in the province, a man of exceptionally precocious genius and high attainments. The late Lala Chetan Anand was the Soul of public life in Multan and was, besides other things, doing excellent work in connection with a boy's and a girl's School. Lala Sain Das understood these young men perhaps better than they understood themselves and did all that lay in his power to mould their character. They became ardent admirers of the propaganda of the Arya Samaj.

The Arya Samaj as a Missionary body needed an organ to advocate its cause. One of the members started the *Regenerator of Arya Varta*, a weekly in English; and Pandit Guru Datta and Lala Hans Raj, still students of the Government College, were put in editorial charge of it. Then it was that Lala Hans Raj showed for the first time what store of energy lay hidden in him. Those were the days of unrest—religious unrest—; Swami Dayanand, the great iconoclast, was

810

vigorously carrying on his campaign against untruth and vice. The Arya Samaj had commenced to agitate on the question of Sanskrit and Hindi. This agitation roused opposition chiefly in Mohammadan quarters. The Hindi—Urdu controversy raged furiously at the time and the two editors and Lala Lajpat Rai took a respectable share in it. Articles and counter-articles were written, speeches and counter-speeches were delivered and during this hot discussion, which took no inconsiderable time of Lala Hans Raj and Pandit Gurudatta, they studied European Oriental Literature and had to find time to refute the European views in the columns of *The Regenerator*, to correct and pass its proof sheets and superintend its printing business. The practice of Lala Hans Raj, as we have learnt, was to go to the Press straight after the close of the College (at 11-30 A. M. in the summer), correct the galleys there and write something more, if necessary, before he returned home at 2 or 3 P. M. to take his food. While we read this we must remember that Lala Hans Raj was living rather in a poor fashion and that he then possessed, as he has since possessd, only a delicate constitution.

These young men went on working steadily and energetically, but they had not worked long when a calamity was at hand, a calamity the like of which they had never experienced in their public career. Early in October, 1883, a telegram was received by the Lahore Arya Samaj, that Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, lay ill at Jodhpore. A cloud of gloom was cast over the whole community of the Aryas, and Lala Jiwan Dass and Pandit Gurudatta were sent to attend upon him at Ajmere, where he had removed from Jodhpore. The disease of the Swami, however,

went on progressing in spite of all that human knowledge and power could do, till the time came when the great soul of that great man was about to shuffle off its mortal coil. He lay on his death bed, surrounded by his followers and admirers. Pandit Gurudatta, whose mind yet retained some traces of doubt and scepticism, was also among them. The last moments came. A dead silence prevailed. All were struck dumb by the awe of the majesty of death. Swamiji looked healthier and stronger, drew a long breath and with words that meant 'Father, Thy will be done,' breathed his last. Thus passed away the great soul, the like of which the Indians had never witnessed since long ages, the soul that inspired with the deepest patriotism and the miracle-working faith had passed his earthly career in fighting the battles and defeating the enemies of his faith.

The scene of his death must have impressed all present there, but the effect on Gurudatta's mind was the strongest and everlasting. He was a thorough theist now and a staunch believer in the revelation and, when he returned from Ajmere, he was solemn and serious, stronger and more energetic.

The gloomy intelligence of Swamiji's death had already reached Lahore, and on his return Pandit Gurudatta found the whole town full of woeful accents and wrapped up in the heaviest gloom. The most elderly and strong-minded members wept like children and cried like the inmates of a ship, who have lost their pilot. Time and faith, however, came to their rescue at last. They wiped their tears and resigned themselves to the will of God, in the fulfilment of which their leader had lived and died. Meetings were held to

mourn this crushing loss and the speakers, though themselves unable to speak for tears and emotion, produced torrents of tears in the eyes of the thousands who attended the meetings. The Lahore Samaj decided to have a fitting memorial to commemorate the great name of their leader, and no memorial was thought fitter than a College which should in addition to carrying his name to posterity further his mission. Lala Lajpat Rai, who had already distinguished himself by his oratorical powers, was entrusted with the task of laying before the Lahore public the great services of the Swami and the necessity of the commemoration of his name, in a manner which should be a fit index to the gratitude of the Hindu nation, whom he had raised from the dust to become one day, the crown of the nations of the world. The Lahore public expressed, in loud acclamations, their hearty sympathy with the proposal of the Samaj, to start a College to be named the 'Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College.' The Mofussil Samajes, independently, arrived at the same decision. So without any delay, a scheme was propounded by Lala Lal Chand, M. A., Pleader, Chief Court, and lists of subscriptions were at once opened in all the important towns of the Punjab.

The number of the Arya Samajists was not large; the opposition which the orthodox section offered to the Revivalist—Reformers was great. The Arya Samajes worked vigorously for two years and could collect only Rs. 80,000 or so. This was not sufficient to warrant the starting even of a High School. The members of the Arya Samaj, like sensible men, wanted to have a firm foundation for their institution. That they would start a College was certain; but when? this no one could say. Lala Hans Raj who had taken

813

his degree standing high up in the list came to the rescue of his brother-promoters of the scheme. He received an assurance from his elder brother that in case he decided to work for the proposed institution, his brother would provide him with a modest allowance of Rs. 50 a month. Lala Hans Raj intimated his intention of serving the institution without any remuneration. The Executive Committee of the Lahore Samaj thankfully accepted the offer and the announcement of the same in the Samaj anniversary that came off the same month (November, 1885) reverberated every nerve and fibre of the Samajists. The following is extracted from the first Annual Report of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College Society:—

"The Draft Scheme was first circulated only among certain prominent members of the Arya Samajes, and it is possible that it would have loitered on for some considerable time before taking a practical shape, but the matter was soon brought to a pass by a letter of Lala Hans Raj, B.A., offering his services honorary for the use of the institution. It is not possible on this occasion to do full justice to the spirit of self-sacrifice, which actuated Lala Hans Raj at such young age and with such brilliant prospects before him, to renounce them all and to offer his life for the cause of the education of his country. Nor is it possible to express our deep debt of gratitude for the timely and noble assistance thus rendered by Lala Hans Raj to the cause of the movement." The Committee thanked Lala Hans Raj for his offer and intimated that early opportunity be taken to utilize his services.

That opportunity was taken when the School Department of the Institution was opened on the 1st of

814

June, 1886. The institution was started with the following joint purposes :—

(*a*) To encourage, improve and enforce the study of the Hindi Literature ;

(*b*) To encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and of the Vedas ;

(*c*) To encourage and enforce the study of the English Literature and Sciences, both theoretical and practical.

It was also resolved to provide means for giving technical education, as far as it was not inconsistent with the proper accomplishment of the above objects.

Lala Hans Raj was appointed the Headmaster of the School. Since that day his life has been indissolubly bound up with the life of the D.A.V. College. The institution was the first of its kind, under purely Indian management, in the Punjab. People were curious to know how Indians could control and conduct an educational institution. Even friends of the cause were not without misgivings. Then many students who were not good materials to work upon flocked to the new School. Lala Hans Raj worked with firmness, made free use of the rod in the beginning and in a short time made the school a model institution from the view point of discipline. The School in course of time developed into a College and Lala Hans Raj became the Principal.

The higher classes of the School are now the most flourishing classes in the Province and the College is numerically the largest institution connected with the Punjab University.

All students receive religious instruction through the medium of Sanskrit or Hindi books and, in the province, the institution has done more to popularise Sanskrit and Hindi than all other agencies put together.

There is provision for technical education also. There are two Engineering Classes in a flourishing condition, a tailor class and an Ayur Vedic class. Besides there is a theological department for the exclusive study of classical Sanskrit. Altogether more than 1,800 students are now receiving instruction in the various branches of the institution. The Annual Budget now goes up to Rs. 55,000. The capital now amounts to seven lakhs.

On the occasion of the last anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj (November, 1908) the collections for the College amounted to about Rs. 46,000 cash. About Rs. 13,000 out of this sum were collected by Lala Hans Raj and his students from out stations for the College Building Site Fund. It was also announced that a Pleader of Jagadhari has bequeathed Rs. 38,000 to the institution. Among the colleagues of Lala Hans Raj on the staff of the institution, there are five gentlemen working on a subsistance allowance and all of them are old students of the College. Lala Devi Dyal, Professor of Mathematics, has been on the staff since 1st June 1886, when the school was opened.

The prosperity of the College is to a large extent due to the fact that all concerned have acted their part well. Lala Mulk Raj still continues to give his brother the promised allowance. Lala Hans Raj has throughout managed to live on this modest allowance. In the Managing Committee, except for a short period, harmony has prevailed. Lala Hans Raj has always

loyally carried out the policy of the Managers; he has behaved just as a paid servant would do. The Managers on the other hand have always appreciated his work and given willing co-operation. The short period just referred to was the time in early nineties when an unfortunate split rent the Arya Samj into two parts. The College bark was on stormy waters and for sometime no haven could be described. Lala Hans Raj and his co-workers trustfully went on working and brought the slender bark to a place of safety. During this period Lala Hans Raj was one of the most maligned persons.

Even now he has some bitter critics, but to no one he bears ill-will. "Man am I, and to all things human am I kin." He does not worry himself about what others say against him. When some one tells him that a certain paper writes bitterly against him, he smiles a little and says, 'I don't want to give my revilers the satisfaction that I read what they write against me." He minds his own business and well might he say in the words of Frederick the Great, "My people and myself have come to an understanding: they may say what they like, I will do what I like."

As an effective religious preacher, Lala Hans Raj occupies a high place. So far as one can see, there are two conceptions that occupy the central, focal, place in his religious consciousness. These are the value of sacrifice in moral progress and the presence of Divine energy, half revealed and half concealed, in all natural phenomena. Here is subjoined the translation of two beautiful passages from the *Upanishads*, because Lala Hans Raj often makes them the basis of his sermons and they throw light on his central religious

conceptions. The first occurs in the *Brihadaranyaka* and *Chandogya* Upanishads and is as follows:—

"The gods and the demons once rivalled for supremacy. The gods being few in number and the demons many, the former stood in need of assistance. They decided to win by the help of the *udagit* (reciting a part of the *Sama Veda*), and said to speech, 'Do thou for our sake sing the *udagit*.' Speech assented and saying, 'Let it be so,' sang the *udagit*. She sang to the gods, but *the pleasure of speaking well she reserved for herself*. The *devas* were defeated in the conflict. They then adored *nasika* (sense of smell) and asked her to perform the ceremony for them. *Nasika* consented, and saying 'Let it be so,' sang for them, but reserved the pleasure of smell for herself. The *devas* were worsted in the struggle. Vision then, in compliance with the request of the *devas*, sang the udagit for them, but, like speech and smell, reserved the pleasures for herself. The *asuras* contaminated her, as they had contaminated the other two, and again, for the third time, the demons came out victorious. The same sad story was repeated when the ear and the mind worked—but not without selfishness—on behalf of the *devas*. The gods, in their perplexity, then turned to *Asanya* (*Prana, breath*), and besought him to perform the ceremony. *Prana sang the udagit reserving nothing for himself*. The demons tried to contaminate him with sin, but in the effort altogether destroyed themselves, just as a clod of earth dashed against a rock is reduced to dust."

The moral is plain. In the deadly strife that the higher and the lower nature of man are waging, each against the other, the higher nature cannot triumph so long as there is any trace of selfishness. Let the

altruistic feeling gain in strength and depth, let a man be absolutely selfless, even as the *Prana*, and then will character soften and righteousness swallow unrighteousness.

The other passage occurs in the *Kena* or *Salvakara* Upanishad. The Lord achieved a victory for the gods (the powers of nature); this added to their glory, and they thought the victory was achieved by themselves and their glory was underived. The Lord knew it and manifested himself to the Gods as an Apparition. They did not recognise what apparition it was. They said to Agni, "Go thou and know what this apparition is." Agni went to the apparition, who asked him, 'Who art thou? What canst thou do?' Agni answered, "Verily, I am Agni Jatvedas; I can consume all this universe." The apparition put a blade before Agni and said, 'consume this blade.' Agni did all in his power but the blade could not be consumed. The vain God spoke not a word, but returned to his comrades, and said "I know not what this apparition is." Then they turned to Vayu and asked him to find out what the Apparition was. Vayu went to the Yaksh and being asked about his name and power, said, 'Verily I am Vayu, I can blow off all that exists.' 'Blow off this blade' said the Apparition. Vayu tried with all his might, but the blade remained there unmoved. Crest fallen he returned to his comrades and told them all that had happened. Then the mighty Indra was deputed to know the Yaksha. Indra hastened to go where the Apparition was but the apparition disappeared.' Indra met Uma who told him that the Apparition was the Lord Himself. Their glory and power were derived from Him; these were not their own as they in their conceit, had imagined. Then they knew the truth

about their power." "The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When He shines, everything shines after Him; by his light all this is lightened."

What strikes one most in the character of Lala Hans Raj is his grasp of life's meaning as a whole, his 'rising above the impulse of the moment and viewing it in the light of his national selfhood,' 'his severe criticism of his own nature and the consequent mastery of his own destiny'. He knows how to bear and to forbear. For more than twenty-two years he has kept his gaze fixed on a high ideal and manfully marched towards it. No opposition has disheartened him; no temptation has led him astray. He has subdued his life to one idea and is eminently a man of character. His life has not been, as the lives of so many of us are made up of independent, detached segments. It has been a unity, an organic growth. 'Self-realization, says Professor James Seth, 'means that the several changing desires, instead of being allowed to pursue their several ways, and to seek each its own good or satisfaction, are so correlated and organised that each becomes instrumental to the fuller and truer life of the rational or human self.'

Lala Hans Raj supplies an excellent illustration of such self-realization.

The daily life of Lala Hans Raj has for some years been singularly monotonous. As was the case with Immanuel Kant, the same routine is repeated from day to day. If we know one day's life, we have just to repeat it seven times and we may get a week's life, and so on with weeks and months. Lala Hans Raj gets up rather early in the morning, takes ablutions

820

before sunrise and then offers daily prayers. Then he goes out for walk for an hour or so, or takes dumb bell exercise. This done he reads some religious book for a short time and then applies himself to College work. When the College opens, he goes to his room and remains there till the end of College time. He works more there than any other member of the College staff. He leaves the College in the afternoon and taking a little rest, and receiving some visitors on College or Samaj business, goes out to attend some meeting. Some day he has to attend two or three even more meetings. He is a Fellow of the University, a syndic, a member of one or two Boards of Studies, a member of the Textbook Committee, President of the Young Men's Arya Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the D. A. V. College Union; a member of the D. A. V. College Managing Committee and its Sub-Committees for managing the College, the School, the College Boarding House, the School Boarding House, the Brahmachar Ashram; a member of the Samaj Girls' School Committee and of the Sevak Mandali (Service League). In the evening he performs Sandhea in the College Boarding House along with the resident Students. When he has taken his evening meals, he is generally visited by fellow-workers in the cause of the Arya Samaj or the D. A. V. College and sometime is spent in exchanging views about religious and social matters. Then comes time for sleep. Whenever the College is closed for more than one day, he goes out to join the anniversary of some Samaj. The major part of the summer vacation, he spends in delivering lectures and collecting funds for the College. His work is entirely confined to the Arya Samaj and its institutions, scarcely once or twice a year he speaks out of the Samaj. He has never written

for any Magazine or newspaper that does not belong to the Samaj. Even to the Samajic papers he contributes very little; some times months pass without a single line appearing over his signature.

Such is the life of Lala Hans Raj, a man whom so many educated Punjabees respect and revere and love and look up to as a model to be imitated in their own lives. We have spoken of his grasp of life's meaning as a whole. What is that meaning? A few words more about this meaning will bring this sketch to a close. "Why should one take pleasure in being alive, merely to act as a sort of filter for so much food and drink? Merely to pamper and doctor for all one's life a sickly and wasting body, which is only kept from death by repeated nourishment? Or to abide in fear of death, the one event we are born for?" Seneca asks these questions and answers, 'No! Take away the priceless blessing of thought, and life is not worth the feet and fever it entails.' Lala Hans Raj improves upon the answer of the Roman Store and adds to the priceless blessing of thought, the priceless blessings of noble sentiments and useful activity. The grand lesson that we learn from his life is this :—

1. We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths.

2. In feeling, not in figures on a dial.

3. We should count time by heart throbs; *he most lives.*

4. Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.

832

The interpretation of Vedas by Swami Dayanand Saraswati

(A Lecture by Lala Hans Raj.)

GENTLEMEN,

It is admitted on all hands that ancient Aryavarta had a great reputation for original learning among the cultured nations of antiquity. So highly celebrated was the wisdom of the Brahmins of the country that the ancient sages of Greece considered it an honor to travel to India and learn lessons of wisdom at the feet of its hoary Rishis. In the course of long ages, with the corruption of their social and religious institutions, our forefathers lost their reputation for wisdom and valor, and remained famous only as the richest nation of the earth. The pomp and pride of our princes, the luxury of our nobles and the rich wares of our traders appealed to the covetousness of other nations, and inspired them with a desire to conquer, India or carry on trade with its people. India was the land of golden pagodas whose glistening temples invited the hungry and dazzled warriors of other climes for easy conquest and rich plunder. The invasions of Mahamud, Taimur and Nadir, the conquests of Shahabuddin and Baber and the struggles of different European nations to find a sea passage to India and make it their own, show how it had become the cynosure of all neighbouring eyes. At last after a severe struggle with rival conquerors, the English became the masters of the land, and, putting down anarchy and misrule with a strong hand, gave peace and security to its teeming millions.

Before and immediately after the conquest of the country, the English and other European nations

had very crude ideas about the people. They were thought of as little above the condition of savages, with no glorious traditions of the past or rich heritage for the present. They were the dark-skinned idolators who had no literary language or literature of their own. Gentlemen, I was much amused to read in a work on Geography that the inhabitants of India were called *Gentoos*, that they were descended from *Shem*, a son of *Noah*, and that their language, which was named 'Sanskrit,' was discovered by a European gentleman in such and such a year. No better description of Indians could be expected from men who believed the traditions and the chronology of the Bible as divine, and traced the origin of all religion and history to the Jewish Scriptures.

But such a state of dark ignorance could not last for ever. The Europeans have a spirit of enquiry in them, and that adventurous turn of mind, which bade them undertake long sea voyages to discover a see route to India and undergo untold hardships in fighting for supremacy here, made them explore the treasures of learning which our forefathers have bequeathed to us. The scholar and the missionary followed close upon the soldier. *Sir William Sones* and his colleagues were the pioneers of a movement which brought to light the immensity and variety of our literature and showed to the European world that we had produced immortal works in religion, philosophy, poetry and drama, and were entitled to a position among the civilised nations of the world. The Missionaries also studied our literature, not, however, with a view to appreciate but to confute and refute it. They, too, could not conceal the truth that the precepts of our Shastras were vastly superior to the present religious practices of our countrymen.

This is not all. The flood of light let loose upon the West by the study of Sanskrit opened new fields of enquiry to the view of European scholars and savants. The perfect and unique system of Sanskrit Grammar embodied in the lectures of Panini and the commentaries of his successors led to the study of comparative Grammar and the discovery of the Science of Philology which has cast so much light upon the history of the Aryans. The affinity of the languages spoken by the Indo-European nations was recognised, and the common origin of Celtic, Classical, Teutonic, Persian and Hindu races established to the utter discomfiture of those who believed the Jewish language to be the mother-tongue of all the languages of the world. Christian Europe bowed down to acknowledge the truth that Veda, and not the Bible, was the oldest book with the human race. The development of Mesmerism and Hypnotism in the West indicates the influence which the teachings of Patanjali are exercising over the mind of Europe and America. Men recognised that the theories of Kapila did not clash with the discoveries of Modern Science, and that the philosophy of Vyas and the works of the authors of the Upanishads could satisfy and solace the minds of philosophers like *Schopenhaur*. The starting of the Theosophical Society, the conversion of Mrs. Besant, and the reception accorded to Swami Vivekananda in the Parliament of Religions are clear indications of the fact that even to the Westerns, Western thought has ceased to be all-in-all.

While the West has caught a new impulse by the study of Sanskrit, India has also witnessed a change, the like of which has never been known before. I do not refer to the physical conquest of India by England,

825

for, however grand the fact in itself may have been, the Afghans and Turks had already led the way by the establishment of their dominion here. I allude to the intellectual and moral conquest of the people by Englishmen. During the palmiest days of Muhammedan rule, the Hindus had never acknowledged themselves beaten by their masters in intellectual and moral progress. A Muhammadan Babar might defeat a Hindu Sanga and dispossess him of a portion of his territory but even he had to bend before a Hindu Nanak. Akbar, Faizi, Jehangir and Dara Shikoh had to bear testimony to the learning and saintliness of Hindu devotees. But with the advent of the English the case has become different. Hardly a day passes when we are not reminded of our inferiority. The railway, the telegraph and the factory speak in unmistakable terms both to the educated and the uneducated that Englishmen are far superior to them in the knowledge of natural laws and their application to the conveniences of human life The wonderfully complex machine of administration which regulates our affairs displays to us high powers of organization in the nation that bears rule over us. The dramas of Shakespeare, the poems of Milton and the writings of Bacon attest to the intellectual eminence of the ruling people. The perseverence, truthfulness, courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice of Englishmen excite feelings of respect and admiration in our minds. What wonder is then that in their company, we feel ourselves conquered and humiliated.

Just at this moment of weakness, the missionary comes to us and whispers that the superiority of the European over the Indian is the gift of the Son of God whom he has acknowledged as his King

826

and Saviour and that your countrymen can really become great if they come under his banner. The idea thus insinuated is daily fed and strengthened by the education that he imparts to us through a large number of Mission Schools and Colleges that cover the country with their net-work. The missionary criticises the evils that have of late corrupted our society, and proudly points out to his own community as entirely free from those curses. He compares our sacred books with Christian Scriptures, and proves to the satisfaction of many a misguided people that the latter are infinitely superior to the former. He is also encouraged in his proselytising work by the apathy of the Hindus towards religious instruction. They send their children to schools for secular education without making any provision for religious training at home or school, with the result that our boys grow up utterly ignorant of the religious principles of their Shastras. No Christian father will ever entrust his sons to the care of him whom he believes inimical to his faith, but we do it daily, only to bewail at the result of our folly when some mishap befalls us. The godless education of Government Schools and Colleges has increased our indifference to religion, and we have been so completely won over to the world that we are ready to sacrifice our highest religious interests for the slightest worldly advantage to ourselves.

The labours of the Sanskrit scholars of Europe have also facilitated, though unconsciously, the path of the missionary. Accustomed to receive secular truths from the West without the slightest hesitation, our young men, unacquainted with the sublime truths of their Scriptures, are led to put implicit faith in the opinions of Western scholars on the subject of Hindu

religion. Gentlemen, here I do not mean to blame such distinguished savants as Professors Max Muller and Monier Williams, or cast a slur on the world-wide reputation which they have deservedly won after years of toil in the sacred field of Sanskrit literature. European savants, excuse me, gentlemen, for this language, have been misled by the commentaries of native Sanskrit scholars whom they have closely followed, and it is no fault of theirs if they failed in fields where men more favourably situated than themselves had shared the same fate.

I fear, I must be a little more explicit here. The religious literature of the Hindus covers a long period, and includes among works of the highest merit others that are diametrically opposed to each other, though all of them allow a sort of general authority to the Vedas. These works were composed at different times, and represent different stages in the religious life of the Hindus. Notwithstanding the fact that all claim to be based on the Vedas, they entertain different views on many an essential point. Taking even European savants as our guide in this respect, we may safely assert that the mythology of the Puranas finds no support either from the law-books or the Vedas. But Puranic mythology being the latest development of Hindu thought, the authors and commentators of that period have strained every nerve to find in the Vedas sanction for the ideas, they preached and acted upon. They interpreted the Vedas after their own manner and scholars like Sayana and Mahidhar, who have been accepted as authorities by Western scholars, composed voluminous explanatory works which while, satisfying the demands of popular religion, have been preserved to us as monuments of their labour and learning.

Let us, gentlemen, pause here a moment, and examine our position. The Hindu religion, which could well withstand the steel of Muhammedan bigotry for hundreds of years, has been brought face to face with European science, and criticism, wielded in the hands of men who are either indifferent to our interests or interested in converting us to their faith. Our situation demands that we may brace our nerves to defend our religion, if we believe it to be true, against the attacks of its assailants; but alas, we ourselves have got misgivings in our hearts. The vast and insensate majority of our conservative countrymen is so much steeped in idolatry and superstition that it is well nigh unconscious of its own wretchedness. It is moreover divided into rival sects giving nominal allegiance to the Vedas but passionately clinging to the various books composed by their founders for the benefit of their followers. Whenever any section of the community has kept itself aloof from contending factions, it has, with an inconsistency characteristic of our race, outwardly recognised the sovereignty of all, but, inwardly ignoring the claims of religion altogether, yielded its heart to none. A fewunmeaning ceremonies excepted, there is no common tie that unites the Hindu masses, no common link that fastens them to each other, no one principle which all of them may be moved to defend. As for the people who call themselves educated, they are beset with greater difficulties and less provided for against danger. Education has deprived them of the ignorant pride which in the case of common people is the source of dogged pertinacity and tenacious adherence to their own views Light has reached them only to reveal the hideous situation they are in. The Godless education of our Schools and Colleges has sapped the foundations

of faith in God and His revealed Will; our boys are taught to despise their own religious books and praise those of the foreigner; above all, the conviction has been brought home to us by the writings of European savants that although we possess some philosophical works of inestimable value, our religious books contain a great deal of rubbish and nonsense along with a few gems of truth that lie embedded in it. We are told that Vedas, which are the basis of our religion and science, embody the child-like utterings of the primeval man, that they teach the worship of elements, and enjoin the practice of foolish rites that could please children but are disgusting to civilised men. Some of these opinions derive countenance even from the opinions of our priests, the natural guides of our people who, devoting themselves exclusively to the study of works composed in the mythological period, remain ignorant of the knowledge of Divine Revelation and, in their zeal to defend the present corruptions of society, lend a helping-hand to the enemies of their faith. Thus the ancient religion of the Hindus, deserted by those who ought to have proved its best defenders, seems doomed to destruction by the blows dealt to it by its young adversaries. It seeks safety in concealment; it is afraid to come out and measure swords with its opponents in the field of debate and discussion; it confesses itself humbled and beaten by its enemies. It seems impossible to defend, without a blush on the face, the faith of the Rishis who at one time gave law and learning to the whole civilized world.

Gentlemen, it would be an act of ingratitude on my part to pass over the name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who was the first to take the field on behalf of Hinduism,

830

He at once perceived, with the unerring instinct of a practical reformer, that the Vedas, the fountain-head of the Hindu Faith, were the source of pure religion and lent no sanction to the errors and evils that were the corruptions of a later age. He felt that the Vedas could satisfy the highest aspirations of the human soul better than the Bible or the Koran, and he therefore laid the foundation of a Church which taught the unity of God and the sanctity of the Vedas as its essential points. The Raja had intuitively lighted upon the truth, but he had not at his command that vast amount of Sanskrit learning which could strike terror into the hearts of the Hindu Pandits though he often entered into lists against the Christians and defeated his opponents. But the light that had come to him disappeared with his death when his successor, doubting the strength of the rock upon which Ram Mohan Roy had built his Church, shifted its foundations and thus divided it for ever from the parent church of ancient sages.

Gentlemen, you will naturally enquire why Thakur Debendro Nath rejected the authority of the Vedas and assigned to them a position no higher than that of the Bible or the Koran. I beg leave to reply that no man in his position could do otherwise, and that this must always be the case with those who will be guided by the mythological school of the interpretation of the Vedas. The Thakur tried to study the Vedas, he doubted them, he sent Pandits to Benares to clear his doubts. They too could not interpret the Vedas rightly because even they had forgotten to use the right key; and, as an honest man, the teacher of the Brahmo Samaj threw away the Book which yielded him nothing but silly stories. You cannot blame him, you must blame the school which misled him.

Thus the Hindu faith, assailed on all sides by its vigorous opponents, had put forward one defender, but he also deserted it in time of need. The faith of the Rishis was in danger of being swept out of the land where it had flourished from immemorial times. Even the Vedas, the expression of the Divine Will, entrusted to the care of the Brahmins, were threatened with oblivion. Men had despaired of finding unity in the chaos of conflicting opinions which the Hindus erroneously believe to be their religion, and had given up the task as hopeless. Everything portended utter confusion and dire destruction to our Faith when Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the Great Seer of the age, appeared among us.

I have called Swami Dayanand, the Great Seer, because like Rishis of yore he saw the Truth face to face. Long ages of ignorance and superstition had concealed the Vedic Truth under the cover of oblivion. His profound learning and penetrating intellect pierced through the obscure veil, and saw the gem of truth blazing in the majesty of its lustre and glory. He found the key which unlocked the door to lead him to the full light of the day. He discovered the true formula, the *open sesame* which gave him possession of the golden treasure, while others, who remembered "*open barely*," failed to gain even a sight of it.

There are some who call Swami Dayanand an imposter, a liar, a false interpretor of the Vedas. I do not quarrel with them, because in the search after truth, these slanderers have never wandered in the mazes of Hindu Shastras, never felt the difficulties that lie in the way of Vedic students, and never realized the importance of the discovery made by Swami

Dayanand. The great Swami stands on a pedestal so high that the eyes of those who look at him from below are dazed, and they find nothing substantial in his place. Gentlemen, I admit that the truth discovered by him is the only bond which can unite us as a nation and that the movement inaugurated by him will, like the famous cow of the Hindu mythology, yield us all that is desirable in social and religious matters; but these collateral benefits should not weigh in our minds as proofs of the ulterior motives of the Swami. They are rather an index of the importance of his discovery and work. The brightness of the truth, discovered by him would have been the same without these additional lights. Nor should we be swayed in our judgment against him by what has been miscalled as the unanimous voice of the Pandits. Had truth been judged by numbers, no reform would have ever succeeded. Weigh him not by the votes of those who are the devoted followers of the Mythological School, but by the evidence which he can bring forward to establish the existence of the school which he has followed. I contend that the system of interpretation inaugurated by Swami Dayanand is older and therefore more reliable than that followed by Sayana and Mahidhar. Herein lies the fundamental difference of the Arya Samaj with the orthodox people ; the Samaj and its founder stand or fall by this principle.

Gentlemen, we are now in a position to discuss the question of the true system of Vedic interpretation, and I will apply myself directly to it, hoping that I may not have to make an undue demand upon your time.

The students of Sanskrit literature are aware that Yaska, the author of Nirukta, is believed to be the highest authority on the interpretation of the Vedas. The work is quoted both by Sayana and Mahidhar with the profoundest respect and humility, and is universally acknowledged by the Pandits as one of the six helps to the study of the Vedas. Swami Dayanand proposed to base his interpretation of the Vedas on Nirukta. Yaska, the author of the work itself, claims a very high authority for his composition. In the fifth Khanda of the sixth Pada of the first Adhya, he writes: "Rishis were those who had realized truth face to face. They communicated by instruction, *mantras* to others—their inferiors, who had not realized truth face to face. These, put to much inconvenience by teaching, with a view to easy understanding, systematised this book, the Vedas and the helps to the Vedas." In the first Khanda of the same Pada, Yaska thus enforces the study of his work: " Without this, it is not possible to know the meanings of the Mantras. To him, who does not understand the meaning, the complete object of accentuation and etymology is unintelligible. Thus this repository of learning, *viz.*, Nirukta completes grammar and has its own ends." Here we have a book that proposes itself as a key to the interpretation of the Vedas, and possesses an authority which is inferior only to that of the Vedas themselves. As all parties submit to its authority, I will refer to its contents as often as necessary.

Gentlemen, let me present you, first of all, with two illustrations of Veda Mantras interpreted to us both by the Mythological and Etymological Schools. Sayana and Mahidhar are the ablest advocates of the

former, and Yaska, the author of the Nirukta, of the latter. Yaska has often styled these schools as *Aitihasik* and *Nairuktik*. The Mantras commented upon are Rig, Ashtak 8, Adhya 52, Sukta 12, Mantras 5—6 and Rig 8-5-2-5.

The Mythologists say: Devapi and Shantanu sons of Rishtishen and born of the family of Kuru were two brothers. Shantanu, the younger got himself installed as King; Devapi took to penance. Then in the kingdom of Shantanu clouds did not rain for twelve years. Brahmans said to him, "you have committed a sin, you have been installed in supercession of your elder brother; hence the clouds do not rain." At this Shantanu often visited his brother with the offer to rule. Devapi told him, "I will be your priest and sacrifice for you." The Sukta is of him desirous of rain and the two Riks refer to the story. Translated by the Mythologists, they run as follows: Sage Devapi, the sun of Rishtishen officiated as a priest. He knew the beneficent will of the Gods. He brought heavenly rain water from the higher ocean to the lower. When Devapi, the priest of Shantanu appointed by him as Hotree, sacrificed, engaged in contemplation after being moved with pity, Brihaspati granting the request of him who was desirous of rain and heard by the Gods, gave him the Riks." The story upon which the interpretation is based is not given in the Vedas; it is a mere tradition.

Yaska has not given the Nairuktik meanings of the Mantras very clearly, but Durga Charan, his commentator who has always taken Sayana his authority, explains them also according to Etymological method. *Rishti* is lightning, *Rishtisena* one which has lightning

835

as its army, is wind, *Arshtitshen* its son is fire, as the Upanishads declare, *Vayu* was born of *Akash* and *Agni* of *Vayu*. The Mantras describe the action of heat as it brings down rain from the clouds. Their Nairuktik meanings are as follows: Heat that affects elements and produces motion serves as *Hotree*, conscious as if of the beneficent laws of the Universe. It brings down pure rain water from the higher to the lower ocean. When, the affecter of elements and the benefactor of man being moved by pity calls for rain, the clouds bestowing their gifts on the chief of the elements desirous of rain, answer it with thunder." Gentlemen, see how beautifully and poetically have the beneficent laws of the Universe been described to you ; they suggest quite a fund of good and noble thought.

The second illustration is even more remarkable. The hymn referred to, has Pururava as its Rishi, who according to Sayana composed the poem, while according to Swami Dayanand, he merely discovered its meaning. By this Mantra, says Sayana, Pururava praises Urvasi, the heavenly nymph who is a celebrated beauty of Indra's Court. The mythological introduction to its explanation is as follows : Mitra and Varuna who had just got their initiation saw Urvasi and desired her. Their vow was broken and they cursed her, saying, Thou shalt be enjoyed by man. After this, king Ila, attended by the sons of Manu, went out a hunting, where he described Devi in amorous sport with Siva. She had engaged in it on the condition that any male seeing her in that state would turn into a female. Ila, ashamed at the metamorphosis, supplicated to Siva who referred him to Parvati. She granted his request to the extent that he was to remain alternatively male and female for six months. Once, on a certain occasion,

836

Budha saw him while in the female state, fell into love with her, and visited her who excelled in beauty the damsels of heaven. She gave birth to Soma who became the father of Pururava, the Rishi of the Mantra. He desired Urvasi who lived in Pratishthanpur. She agreed to be his wife on the condition that she would go back to Heaven if she ever saw him naked out of his bed. She kept two rams always tied in her bedroom. After the lapse of four years, the Gods who felt her absence in heaven, ran away with the rams. Hearing the bleating of rams carried away by force, the king jumped out naked from his bed and brought them back. The lightning took the opportunity to show his nakedness to Urvasi who at once disappeared at the sight. Wandering like a maniac, the king went to Manas lake where he saw her sporting with nymphs. Pururava de sired to enjoy her again, but she spurned him away weeping. Pururava addresses her in the Sukta. The Mantra translated by mythologists runs as follows : "Coming down from heaven, Urvasi shines like lightning, she fulfils all my desires that are within her reach. She will give birth to an active, well-bred child, she will bring up Ayu." I think the above is a very good specimen of the inventive genius of the Hindus.

The author of the Nirukta has no beautiful story to tell. He is here less poetical but more faithful to Truth. He translates *Urvasi* as lightning, and interprets the Mantra thus : The lightning gleams, it shines while falling. It sends me water that I desire, it generates beautiful rippling water that is useful to man, and thus increases his life." What a change from silly stories to scientific instruction.

Gentleman, I can multiply instances, but I think the above examples would suffice to convince you that long before Sayana was born and Mahidhar wrote, to perpetuate the mythological system of Vedic interpretation and render its hold stronger on the nation, there flourished in the country the Nairuktic System which interpreted the Vedas in a different manner. If Swami Dayanand was an impostor because he differed from the prevalent school, Yaska was doubly so, as the great Swami trod the very path which had been trodden before by so distinguished a guide as the author of one of the Vedangas. The truth is that the true systems of Vedic interpretation had been supplanted by the false one ; Swami Dayanand came, discovered the truth and restored it to its pristine position.

The second point to which I beg to draw your attention is the fact that even following the old system of interpretation, ancient Rishis have held different views as to the meanings of different Mantras. They allowed difference of opinion and credited those who differed from them with honesty of purpose. The argument is, I hope, conclusive against those who are ungenerous enough to doubt the sincerity of the Swami and throw away his Bhashya merely because his translation does not agree, with the renderings of Hindu scholars and European savants. The Swami claims no more license than is given to every commentator. The Riks that I will explain to prove the point are Rig. 2, 3, 21, 4, 3, 8, 10,3, Yaj 34, 55, Rig. 2, 3, 20, 2.

The first Rik has got four meanings, two of them are from Yaska and the rest from Shankpuni and his son. According to Yaska, it means,

Rishis have their basis in that exalted, all-pervading and eternal Being who is the receptacle of all

838

luminaries. What will he who does not know Him do with the Vedas? Verily they who know Him are well placed.

The body which is the support of all senses is supported by the intelligent, pervading and eternal soul. What will he who does not know the soulwithin, do with the body? Verily they who know the human soul are well conditioned.

Shakpuni translates it thus:—

Rig is contained in the all-pervading name *Om* which contains in it all the Mantras. What will he who does not know *Om* do with the Rig? Verily they who know Om are well conditioned.

Shakpuni's son gives the following sense:.

The sun, which is the source of all light, is supported by the exalted, all-pervading and eternal God. What will he who does not know Him do with the sun? Verily they who know Him are well conditioned.

The variations in the sense are due to the various meanings of the words, *rik*, *vyoman*, and *deva*. *Rik* means *hymns* as well as sun; *Vyoman* has been interpreted as *pervading* or signifying the word *Om* *Deva* has got two senses here, *rays of the sun* and *senses of the body*.

The second Rik, if translated ordinarily would give the following strange sense :

"The bull that has got four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and is tied thrice roars. The great God enters among men."

Yaska says, the Mantra gives the description of a sacrifice. *Brishbha* which in modern Sanskrit means

839

bull, is etymologically taken to mean the sacrifice or the Yajuya. The Mantra is thus explained: The sacrifice has got four horns, *viz.*, the Vedas for its protection. Its three feet are the three *Savans* or times, *viz.*, morning, noon and evening which carry it on to fruition. *Prayniya* and *Udaniya* are its two heads. Its seven hands are the seven metres of the Vedas. It is tied thrice, *viz.*, regulated by Mantras, Brahmans and Kalpa. It roars because priests chant Mantras at it. It has been prescribed for men only.

Pantanjali, in his great commentary the Mahabhashya, derives all grammatical knowledge from this Mantra, and explains it thus:

Vrishbha is the word that is spoken. It has got four horns in the shape of names, verbs, verbal particles, and conjunctional particles. Past, Present, and Future are the three feet. Sounds perishable and imperishable, are the two heads. Seven cases are its seven hands. It is imprisoned in breast, throat and head. It has been given to man.

Another commentator gives the following explanation.

Vrishbha means the sun. Four cardinal points are its horns. Three Vedas are its foot stools, because the periods prescribed for their study mark the progress of the sun. Day and Night are its two heads. Its seven hands are the rays of the sun or seven seasons. It is tied thrice by earth, air and the bright region. It roars because it brings down rain among men.

The third verse is from the Yajur Veda.

Students of nature interpret it thus:

"Seven rays have been placed in the sun; these seven unceasingly protect all with due care. The

travelling seven go back to the region of the setting sun. Then the two ever wakeful powers that protect the world keep watch over it."

Students of divinity understand it in this way: "Seven organs, *(viz.*, five senses, mind and intellect*)* have been given to the body; these seven unceasingly protect all with due care; these seven organs of knowledge are absorbed in the soul during the time of sleep; then the two ever wakeful protectors of the body keep watch over it." According to Nirukta, the two wakeful protectors are the Prajuyatma and the Taijasatma; according to Mahidhar, they are the inspiration and respiration of man.

The fourth Rik, as interpreted by Yaska, means:

"That which scatters water *viz.*, cloud, does not know its own secret; he who looks at it while concealed in the rays of the sun, understands it well. The cloud, generated in various ways and surrounded by the sky, pours its waters over the earth." While giving his own meaning, Yaska does not conceal the fact that the Sanyasis attach quite a different sense to the Mantra: "He who procreates does not know its mystery. He alone realizes it who conceives the soul imprisoned in the womb. He born over and over in the embryo of his mother, undergoes much suffering." Through this Mantra, the Sanyasis establish the superiority of celibacy over married life. Gentlemen, if you will grant me a little indulgence, I may present you with an interpretation of my own as I think that the Mantra enjoins another principle which is equally precious. I mean, it embodies an injunction against the procreation of a large number of children. "He who procreates does not know its mystery, he who

841

knows it refrains from it. He who possesses many children by being born in the womb of his wife undergoes much suffering."

The various interpretations of the four Mantras quoted by me carry us one step further. Our sages not only followed the Nairuktic mode of interpretation but enjoyed a wide latitude even under that system. In unfolding the meanings of the Vedic Mantras, they gave the freest scope to their intellect with no limitations upon it save those of grammar and natural science. We see the fruits of this system in the steady development of various branches of physical science among them along with the spiritual culture of the highest order. It was one of the greatest misfortunes which befell our country that the Mythological System gained the upper hand and supplanted the Etymological System.

The third point, which is the most important of all, is that of the worship of one true God. No religious book, which does not teach the unity of God and the efficacy of his exclusive worship is worth the value of a straw. None is so bold as to hold that the worship of one true God is not inculcated in the Vedas; what is maintained by the orthodox Pandits and European savants is that lower deities or *devatas* have also been invoked and adored as divine personages in the hymns. For hundreds of years the ancient Aryas worshipped the elements and the forces of nature, and it was by gradual development in religious ideas that the notion of one Supreme Ruler of the universe dawned upon their minds. I would here give the view of Professor Max Muller on the subject in words culled from his writings.

842

Says the learned Professor ; " I could not even answer the question if you were to ask it whether the religion of the Vedas was *polytheistic* or *Monotheistic*. Monotheistic in the usual sense of that word, it is decidedly not, though there are hymns that assert the unity of the Divine as fearlessly as any passage of the Old Testament or the New Testament or the Qoran. But by the side of such passages which are few in number, there are thousands in which ever so many Divine beings are praised and prayed to. If, therefore, there must be a name for the religion of the Rigveda, Polytheism would seem at first sight the most appropriate. Polytheism has, however assumed with us a meaning which renders it totally inapplicable to the Vedic religion. Our ideas of polytheism being chiefly derived from Greece and Rome, we understand by it a certain more or less organised system of Gods different in power and rank and all subordinate to a supreme God or Zeus or Jupiter. In the Veda however, the Gods worshipped as supreme by each sect stand still side by side. No one is first always. no one is last always. Even Gods of a decidedly inferior and limited character assume occasionally in the eyes of a devoted poet supreme place above all other Gods." The professor subsequently proposes and adopts *henotheism* or the worship of single Gods as the name of the Vedic religion to distinguish it from *polytheism*.

Quite opposed to the views of the Professor on this point are the opinions of Swami Dayanand. He asserts that the religion of the Vedas is monotheism pure and simple,—the exclusive worship of one true God and Him only. There are thirty-three gods mentioned in the Vedas, but they are merely the forces of nature that serve us every day ; he whom we have to

serve and worship is the supreme soul of the universe. Fire, Wind, Sun, &c., are mentioned as natural agents which we should utilise for our purposes but not adore as divine beings to hear and grant our prayers. As the attributes of God are innumerable, so are the names given to him in the Vedas. These names of God which we may call attributive, are also the names of many material objects. Thus *Agni* is both all knowing and effulgent God, and fire terrestrial, aereal, and celestial. The context alone can be our guide as to what meanings are to be taken in a passage.

Here are two diametrically opposed opinions of two eminent scholars on a most essential point of faith. Some of my hearers, influenced probably by the latent idea in their minds that the interpretation of Swami Dayanand is far fetched and false, may be inclined to give greater credence to Professor Max Muller, but I lean to the side of Swami Dayanand whose knowledge of Sanskrit was, in my humble opinion, superior to that of the distinguished Professor. Putting aside, however our prepossessions for a moment, we should enquire and find out the Truth, because Truth and Truth alone should be the sovereign object of our desires.

To render issues clearer, let me sum up the position and point out the real cause of difference. Both of them admit that God is revealed to us by the Vedas. Here ends the agreement, and the difference begins. Swami Dayanand further maintains that *agni*, *vayu*, *surya*, &c., are the names of material objects as well as of God; the Professor seems to hold that they do not signify God. The question is, whose opinion is the correct one?

B44

The ordinary sense of the word *deva or devata* is the first cause of misconception in the popular mind. In English, too, they translate it by the term *god* or *goddess* which is misleading. These words imply supernatural beings who have power to grant or refuse our requests. Now whenever it is said that such and such a Mantara has such and such a *devata* it is at once concluded that the hymn offers divine honours to it. There are Mantras that have mortar and pestle as their *devatas*. Adversaries of the Vedic religion point it out with triumph, and complacently observe that there are traces of fetish-worship in the Vedas. They are quite wrong, because they base their opinion on the use of the word *devata* whose meaning they do not understand. It would be an insult to the learning of the Professor to assert that he also shares the popular mistake. He warns the reader against this error. He writes : "Now native scholars call these rivers *devatas* or deities and European translators too speak of them as gods and goddesses, unless we mean by gods and goddesses something very different from what the Greeks called river gods and river goddesses. And what applies to these rivers applies more or less to all objects of Vedic worship. They are still oscillating between what is seen by the senses, what is created by fancy and what is postulated by the understanding ; they are things, persons, causes according to the varying disposition of the poets ; and if we call them gods and goddesses, we must remember the remark of an ancient native theologian who reminds us that by *devata* or deity he means no more than the object celebrated in a hymn." Yaska is the excellent native theologian alluded to in the above quotation. He settles the question for ever by saying that the subject

845

matter of a hymn is its *devata*, be it the Great God himself or any object of His creation. The Vedic Mantras were meant to teach us religion as well as other useful knowledge, and they must have many material objects as their *devatas*. This in no way implies that we are to worship and adore them as Gods.

Now comes the all-important question whether the words *agni*, *surya*, *akasa*, &c., have ever meant God. The first impression of a man who is told that these words also mean God, is not much in favor of this view as he has been taught from his cradle to believe that the Vedas inculcate the worship of various deities and his notions on the subject have been confirmed by the school and college education he has received. He is struck with the newness of the idea and thinks it to be far-fetched. But let him divest himself of preconceived ideas and work in the wide field of ancient Sanskrit literature for a period. He will be disabused of the wrong notion cherished by him from infancy. Gradually the conviction will grow in his mind that God is the primary and elements the secondary sense of the words. He will realise indescribable beauty in the Mantras which he formerly held idolatrous. He will feel that no better words than *agni*, *vayu*, *surya* and *soma* could be found to describe the indescribable whom the Vedas term Om. Gentlemen, this has been the experience of my own life, and I believe many others must have passed through the same mental state.

I will now quote proofs to establish our position. Some of them have been given by Swami Dayanand ;

others are new. They fall under the following arguments :

(1). The Vedas themselves declare that *agni*, *vayu* &c., are the names of one Supreme being. Look to Rig, 2-3-22-66. It is repeated as Rig. 1,22-8-46, Yaska translates it in this way, and his translation has been accepted *verbatum* by Sayana : "This *agni* which is great and *one*, wise men call Mitra, Varuna, resplendent and great." Max Muller expresses the same idea when he translates it thus : "That which is one, sages name it in various ways; they call it Agni, Yama, Matriswan." The 1st Mantra of the thirty-second Adhya of Yajur Veda runs thus : "He is verily Agni, He is verily Aditya, He is Vayu, He is certainly Chandrma. He is verily Shukra, He is Brahma, He is Apah, He is Prajapati." Perhaps it may be objected by some that the Mantra simply declares the identity of fire, sun, wind, moon, water, &c.; but this is to credit the author of the Yajur Veda with more than human folly. Moreover the question is set at rest by the fact that Parmatma or the Supreme Soul is the *devata* of the hymn and the word *brahm* is used in the body of the Mantra too.

(2). There are Mantras in the Vedas wherein these words are used and where you cannot but translate them as God without violating the sense of the passage. In Yajur Veda 2-26, we have Ishwar as the deity of the Mantra which conclusively shows that his attributes are given in the passage. Swami Dayanand translates the Mantra thus: "O Ishwar, Thou art self-existent and beneficent. Thou art light and the giver of light; give me light also. I seek protection with the life-giving Being." The orthodox

848

precepts, and who is desirous of salvation." There are 17 hymns in the Adhya; the word Agni in the vocative case occurs in the 16th. As Atma is the deity of the Adhya, Agni in the passage means God and not fire. The argument becomes irresistible when I consider the passage in the light of Mantras that precede it. I give below the translation of the Mantras from the 5th to the 16th. It will, besides, securing my object, give you an idea of God as taught by the Vedas :

"The Supreme Being eludes wholly and entirely the grasp of ignorant minds although in his own nature, He is uniform and immovable. From those devoid of true knowledge he is far, though verily he is most approximate to the wise. He pervades the inside of the universe and verily he engrosses the outside. The wise man who perceives the entire creation as resting in the Supreme Being alone and the Supreme Being as pervading the entire universe never gives way to doubt. To him who has realised that the entire universe rests in the Supreme Being, every living being appears as dear as his own soul. Verily, what in the world can grieve or elate him who has realised the unitary nature of the Supreme Spirit? The Supreme Being pervades the entire universe. He is of infinite might. He is incorporeal, indivisable and impenetrable. He is free from the bonds of nerves and muscles. He is holy and free from sin. He is omniscient, privy to our inmost thoughts, presides over all and is self-existent. He reveals to his eternal subjects the true knowledge of the Vedas. Dense ignorance shall be the lot of those who seek beatitude in works alone but far worse shall

assuredly be the portion of those who seek it in knowledge alone. Far different is said to be the result of knowledge and far different of works. Thus have we heard from the sages who declared the same unto us. Whoever understands the value and nature of knowledge and works at one and the same time, the same shall by virtue of his works triumph over death and shall obtain beatitude by means of knowledge. Utter darkness shall be the lot of those who worship the primalatom but to far greater darkness shall assuredly be consigned those who worship the visible objects sprung from atoms. Far different are the results of *sambawa* and *asambhawa*. Thus have we heard from the sages who declared the same unto us. He who understands *sambhut* and *vinash* at one and the same time, shall by virtue of his knowledge of the primal atom triumph over death and shall obtain beatitude by virtue of the knowledge of the Divinity in visible creation. The air shall sustain immortal soul while the material body shall be consumed to ashes; O active being, think till thy latest breath of the Supreme eternal spirit, think of him for strength and think of thine own actions. O Omniscient Agni, we bow unto thee with profound humility; cast out from us all debasing and sinful desires and habits, and lead us by paths of righteousness to the acquisition of all true knowledge that we may enjoy true happiness.'

Gentlemen mark the use of the word *widuam agni* in the last but one Mantra of an Adhya devoted exclusively to the knowledge of God. We are required to pray to Agni after we have acquired the sublime knowledge communicated in the Adhya. Can *agni* in this passage mean anything else than God? Can even an

orthodox Pandit, true to his own traditions, believe that a Brahmvadin is required to pray to fire? No one in his senses can believe that the Vedic Rishi, who had realised the sublime idea of God from the preceding Mantras, will bow down to fire and ask it to lead him in the paths of righteousness? Is it not profanity to think a Rishi capable of such an act? Surely the word *agni* here does not and cannot signify anything else than the Supreme Spirit, the deity of the Mantra.

(3) Rishis have declared in their works that these words are used for God. In the last Adhya of Shuetashar Upnishad we find the word *Agni* used in Slokas 14 and 15. In the first, it means fire and in the second God. The juxtaposition is significant. "There the sun does not shine, nor moon and stars, nor does this lighting gleam, how can this Agni or terrestrial fire. He shining, all these shine; all this shines by his light. There is one God, destroyer of ignorance in the midst of the universe. Surely he is *Agni* residing in a pure heart. Knowing him alone, one can triumph over death, no other way exists to walk in life." No one can doubt that the term *Agni* is used as synonymous with God. In the first section of Aitreya Upanishad the student enquires from his teacher who is that *atma* whom we worship, and he replies that he is Omniscient himself who is called by such names as Indra, Brahma and Prajapati. Vyasa the author of the Vedant Sutras and his commentator, the celebrated Sheankar are conclusive on this point. The Sutras that bear on this subject are 11, 22, 23, 24, and 1-2-24 and 1,3, 8,10, 14, 39, 40, 41. Sutras 22, 14 and 41 relate to Akash. They are: "He that is Brahm is called Akash because it expresses His qualities." "For reasons given

afterwards he is called Dahar or Akash ;" "He is called Akash because he has been spoken of as containing all things." On Sutras 22 and 41 Shankar has the following : "It is written in Chhandogya Upanishad; "What is the fate of this world. He the teacher replied; Akash, all these objects are born from Akasha, in the end they return to him, Akash is far greater than these, Akash is their support." There is a doubt, whether Akash signifies Parabrahm or elemental, space. Why is there doubt ; because the word is employed in *both senses*. Here we say it is right to take it in the sense of Brahma." Again : "Akash is certainly the container of *nam* and *rup*. He within whom they are contained is Brahm. He is immortal. He is the spirit." Thus says the Sruti. Whether Akash here signifies Parabrahma or well known elemental space, is to be considered. It may be proper to take it as signifying space, for the meaning is fixed by usage; it is the container of *nam* and *rup* because of the room which it affords and there is no mention of such specific attributes as the creation of the world. But still here it is right to interpret it as meaning Parabrahm." Sutras 24 and 40 relate to Jyoti and mean: "He is called Jyoti or light because it is a part of his attributes. He is called light because he is so declared." Says Upanishad: "This our soul after leaving the body attains to supreme light and abides in its own form." Commenting upon this, Shankar declares that although it has been said that saved souls abide in the sun, the word light here means God. Sutras 28 and 39 are: Therefore He is *Pran*; He is so called because the world trembles from His fear." On the first Shankar remarks that *Pran* here is not air in special conditions but God, the life of all. Sutra 8 declares that God is Bhuma

852

because he has been pointed out as superior to human soul. In Sutra 10 God is styled as *Akshar* because He supports all things contained in space. Shankar has the following upon it: "Sruti says; in whom is space contained and thoroughly contained. He replies, verily he is that Akshar O Gargi whom the Brahmins speak of as subtle and great." Here is a doubt whether Akshar means a letter or God. The arguments in favour of the former sense are that *Akshar* is ordinarily known to mean a letter and the Shruti declares the universe as contained in *Om* letter. But *Akshar* really signifies God because he contains all that is contained in space" Commenting on Sutra 24 of the 2nd Pada, Shankaracharya writes: "*Vishwnar* is the Supreme Spirit, because He is the soul of all. Agni shall also be used in the sense of the Supreme Spirit." The great law giver Manu says at the end of his famous work: Some call him Agni, others Manu and Prajapati many name him Indra and Prana, others the eternal Brahm."

Gentlemen, you must have been tired by my frequent quotations from Shastras and other works but that was unavoidable owing to the importance of the subject. The whole fabric of the Vedic faith is based on the rock of this truth and any number of quotations brought forward to fortify it are not amiss. Let me also state it that our views on the subject though opposed to those of Professor Max Muller derive support from the quotations given by me. He says that in the Vedas different deities have no defined position given to them. None is always first and none is always last. Now to my mind this admission is a proof of the truth of Swami Dayanand's position. I need not coin new words to name and

explain the fact. Our explanation is simple. The names of all the deities are the names of one Supreme Being and therefore there can be no subordination of one name to the other. All the names are the first and all the last. To me it appears that the learned Professor has also got glimmerings of Truth. He writes at the end of the chapter which I have already quoted ; "You see this is as beautiful and in some respects as true as Psalms and yet we know, that there never was such a Deva or God or such a thing as Varuna. We know, it is a mere name meaning originally "covering or all embracing" which was applied to the visible starry sky and afterwards by a process perfectly intelligible developed into the name of a being endowed with human and superhuman qualities." A little further on : "Only let us be careful in the use of that phrase, it is a mere name. Every name was originally meant for some thing ; only it often failed to express what it was meant to express and then became a weak or empty name what we then call a mere name. So it was with these names of Vedic Gods. They were all meant to express the Beyond, the Invisible behind the visible, the Infinite within the finite, the Supernatural above the natural, Divine Omnipresent and Omnipotent. They failed in expressing what by its very nature must always remain inexpressible. But that Inexpressible itself remained and in spite of all these failures, it never succumbed or vanished from the minds of the ancient thinkers and poets, but always called for new and better names nay calls for them even now and will call for them to the very end of Man's existence upon earth." Gentlemen, here is a partial admission. The Professor seems to admit that the names of the Vedic Gods were meant to express the

invisible, the infinite and the supernatural. Swami Dayanand contends that they meant the invisible as well as the visible forces of nature which the Professor calls Gods but the Swami names Devatas in the sense in which Yaska uses the word.

Gentlemen, I have tried to defend Swami Dayanand and his commentary though they stand in no need of defence from a weak man like myself. I believe that his discovery of the key to the interpretation of the Vedas is the greatest discovery of the times and that if you realise it once and work with heart within and God overhead, it will produce momentous results not only in the life of the Hindu nation but in the history of the world. I see signs of the spiritual renaissance of the world through India. May the forecast be true and may the members of the Arya Samaj justify it by their conduct.

Dinshaw Edulji Wacha

The small community of Parsees that settled in Western India one thousand two hundred years ago has made ample compensation to the land of its adoption for the generous hospitality that it received, when driven from its own native land by the rage of religious persecution. The members of this ancient race are to-day among the foremost pioneers of commercial expansion, and leaders of thought and social reform. To their other contributions to the material and intellectual life of the land must be added the unique distinction of having enriched its public life by the labour of love of some of the greatest patriots of the day. What shall we say of the Grand Old Man of India, full of honours and age, still breathing benediction upon the country that he has loved so long and served so well? Does any one need to be reminded of the uncrowned King of Bombay, the brilliant Sir. P. M. Mehta? Who can forget Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, the deep financier, the Todar Mall of the Bombay presidency? In these pages we shall recount the glories of the last of this trinity of Parsee patriots, his many achievements in local and imperial politics, his Congress eminence and his reputation as one who distinguished himself before the Welby Commission by his ability and lucidity in marshalling facts and figures. He has been a keen Congressman, and is now one of the Secretaries of the Allahabad Convention Committee. His personal character is found to consist of such genial elements that it can be said of him that he was formed in the prodigality of nature, so diverse and rich and manifold are they. At an age when most

Indians begin to feel the rapid advance of time, he maintains the vigour and elasticity of mind of youth. There is no one to-day in public life in India who can bear comparison with him in the multitude of his activities and in the completeness with which he goes through them. In addition to the vast stores of knowledge and experience which he has accumulated by patience and industry on all matters connected with Indian finance in all its departments, he revels in the study of the politics and commerce of foreign lands. No better example of the depth and varied nature of the information that he has acquired can be given than the elaborate lecture that he delivered on October 14, 1908, before the Graduates' Association of Bombay, on the subject of "The Science of Commerce and Economics" As the *Times of India* says, "His theme is not new, but he presented it with a wealth of illustrations and cogent arguments that must be most agreeable even to those familiar with the advantages to be derived from a course of instruction in business economics."

Unlike most men, he is not morbidly conscious of the burden of honours with which he has been loaded. Simple, gracious, gentle alike to great and small, he is withal one of the most uncompromising and sternest of men, when any question of principle is involved on which he is required to take a firm stand. He may not be unaptly termed the Indian Aristides, so holy and strong is his indignation against corruption and laxity of administration.

It was on 2nd August 1844 that Dinshaw Edulji Wacha was born. His father belonged to a good middle class Parsee family, and was engaged in trade. In his fourteenth year he became a pupil of the Elphinstone

Institute, where he continued four years. In October 1858 he entered Elphinstone College, then under the management of Dr. John Harkness who was assisted by a brilliant professorial staff. The College education was of considerable benefit to him, and his conduct won for him the commendation of Sir Alexander Grant, a Professor of his College, who spoke of him as having a "gentlemanly pleasing deportment." Before he could finish his course, his father took him from the College and placed him under himself on his own commercial business. He was for a while employed in the Bank of Bombay, and afterwards in the firm of Messrs. Brodie and Wilson, thus laying deep the foundations of his financial acumen. He is at present in the Cotton Industry of Bombay, in the capacity of managing agent of Moraji Goruldas and Sholapur Mills.

With his keen ardour he took part in the public life of his city, such as it was in the days before the founding of the Indian National Congress. He was for seven years the ablest assistant of Mr. Malabari in the work of editing *The Indian Spectator* to the columns of which he contributed many brilliant articles on the burning questions of the day. He derived his inspiration and knowledge from Mr. R. Knight Maclean, the famous Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, who performed in those days the work of keeping a vigilant eye over the vagaries of administration. Mr. Maclean's contributions on the land revenue, opium, and inam commission, and almost in all financial and economic problems, kindled Mr. Wacha's youthful enthusiasm in the same direction and led him to master the intricacies.

His fearless criticism of municipal administration in his city brought him to prominence, and his abilities were utilised to the fullest extent when he entered

the Corporation to represent the Fort Ward of Bombay. He has obtained a complete grasp of municipal problems and he is on one or other of the many committees of the Corporation. He has had many a Keen fight with the commissioner, and has fearlessly discharged his duties without the suspicion of personal rancour.

He was one of those five Indian gentlemen who gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1897 and the fullest confidence was reposed in him by the Indian public, as seen by the fact that he was chosen by the Bombay Presidency Association and by that following resolution passed by the Indian National Congress, held in December, 1896: "That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of satisfaction at the delegation by the Bombay Presidency Association of Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Joint General Secretary of the Congress, to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Expenditure, and the Congress has full confidence that Mr. Wacha will give accurate and adequate expression to its views on the questions which form the subject of enquiry."

From the very commencement of the Indian National Congress in 1885, he has been identified with it and his masterly speeches on the Congress platform are replete with the stores of knowledge which he has gathered during years of patient toil. In 1895 he was chosen President of the Provincial Conference held at Belgaum where he broadly surveyed in his inaugural address the financial condition. Mr. Wacha reached the zenith of his glory, having been appointed President of the Bombay Corporation without any anxiety on his part to secure the coveted position which could only be

adorned by a man of such brilliant parts. A greater honour by far than this was conferred upon him when the choice of the Presidentship of the Calcutta Congress in 1901 fell upon him. It is now a historical fact with what conspicuous ability he discharged the high functions of that onerous office. The *Times of India* recognized that he is a man of an "indefatigable energy that would be conspicuous in New York" and that he showed "an indifference to place and distinction very unusual in this country."

The many and various activities which have filled his time even to overflowing can be best described in his own words in stating his qualifications to give evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897.

"I am, besides being the Honorary Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association, Honorary Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and a Member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. I am also the Managing Agent of a large and flourishing Cotton Mill and a member of the managing committee of the Bombay Mill-Owner's Association. For many years past I have employed my leisure hours in the study and discussion of public affairs, specially on finance and economic subjects, and have regularly contributed to the local press many articles on these subjects. I have also taken, and am still taking, an active part on the many public movements in the city. At the annual sittings of the Indian National Congress I have made speeches on military expenditure from time to time, as well as on such topics as cotton duties, income-tax, exchange compensation and so forth. Similarly I have taken part as Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference, which annually meets in some prominent town

860

in the Presidency and have addressed at such on the expanded Legislative Councils, on the way in which provincial budgets are discussed there at, and on other matters, including the revenue from the drink traffic. On the latter question, to which I have devoted close attention, I wrote a series of articles in the *Bombay Gazette* which I afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form, copies of which were forwarded to the Bombay Government, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State. In my honorary capacity as the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, I memorialized the Government, pointing out the evils of their excise system, and criticized as Secretary of the Presidency Association, the Moura Bill, which the entire Presidency condemned. I also issued a pamphlet on the burning question of agricultural distress, and the impoverished condition of the Indian pesantry, chiefly basing my criticism on the official facts embodied in the report of the condition of the people published on the eve of Lord Dufferin's departure. I have taken a leading part at meetings of the Bombay Mill-Owners' association and have spoken on questions affecting the Cotton Industry. Last year I contributed to the *Times of India* a series of letters on the growth of Revenue and expenditure of the Bombay Municipality, and I have been continually contributing articles to the press on Imperial and Provincial finances."

This brief account of the manifold activities of an expert on finance would be incomplete, if it were not enlarged by a citation of his views on many of the questions which have occupied his attention. He is convinced like other Indian patriots that "it is, no doubt, highly essential for the economic administration

of the Empire that its finances should be closely looked into and steadily watched, especially in India, where the people have no direct voice in checking or controlling it." It is simply unreasonable to expect that the finance minister or even the Viceroy would be as keenly interested in the proper expenditure of the tax-payers' money as the tax-payers themselves who have now "no effective voice in the Councils of the Empire." The present financial machinery is entirely inadequate as there is really no constitutional check upon the vagaries of the executive who can carry through any Budget. "It is true that under the expanded Legislative Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, there are a few non-official members who are indirectly elected as the representatives of the people. Their presence in the Council is most valuable. They are mostly leading men who have devoted much attention to financial matters, and are in a position to represent the tax-payers' point of views; but, after all, their criticism cannot be considered effective so long as they are debarred from bringing motions for the curtailment of expenditure in a Budget and dividing the Council thereon. There is a consensus of opinion on the subject among Indians that this privilege should be conceded, and is absolutely needed." "It is felt that if leading corporations at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and the various local and district boards, are allowed to discuss and vote their respective budgets, there could be no reason for withholding the same privilege, which is still more needed, at Budgets in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils." "It has, however, been alleged that such concessions might sometimes defeat Government, which is not desirable. This allegation carries

its own refutation. For, as a matter of fact, under the standing rules the Government has always an official majority, and if such a thing happens as the defeat of the Government it shows that there must be an overwhelming case made out by the non-official members to lead to such a division.

"It is also very desirable in connection with the Budget in the Viceregal Council that its Members, as well as a few outside public bodies like the Chambers of Commerce and recognized Associations, should be supplied with copies of the Civil and Military estimates, which contain the details of the revenue and expenditure of each province, before the Budget is brought forward. At present they are not accessible to the Members or to such bodies."

"The Financial statement is also subjected to criticism, as the revised estimates exceed the Budget estimates, and the accounts are generally better than the revised estimates it would seem, that apart from Budget estimates even the revised estimates are not yet so carefully prepared as they should be. Bearing in mind that these estimates are made before a month or so before the account for the financial year are closed, I am of opinion that there should be no such striking variations between them and the actuals as they are revealed."

On the subject of exchange compensation Allowance, he expressed himself as follows before the Welby Commission:—"There was absolutely no reason for the Indian Government to impose on the one hand a further burden on the taxpayers, and on the other simultaneously give more to those who are already in the enjoyment of very liberal salaries—salaries which have no

parallel in any part of the civilized world. That there was no legal obligation to allow this compensation has been fully admitted by the Government of India, and specially at the expense of the tax payers, as if they did not suffer also from the burden of exchange, as if they did not contribute to help the state to cover the loss arising from it. But objectionable as it is there is no validity even in the reason assigned, namely, that Civil and Military Officers have felt it a great hardship to remit monies home for maintenance and education of their families in England. In the first place the Government is not bound to take this plea into consideration. The patent economic fact of the increased purchasing power of gold seems to have been entirely ignored. If the officers have less sovereigns to remit for the equivalent in rupees, their families are able to buy more of all domestic goods. It will be seen that the prices of almost all articles of domestic consumption and wearing apparel have greatly fallen since 1884 and my enquiry since my arrival in London would deem to inform one that house rent even in so dear a place as London has fallen. In the teeth of these facts, it was a gross act of injustice to the Indian tax-payer to impose fresh burdens on him for the sake of the services. Nothing has created greater dissatisfaction than this measure—so arbitrary and worthy only of oriental despotism, regardless of the famine-stricken condition of the people, rather than that of a just Government as the Government of India purports to be. But for this there would have been no necessity to reimpose the import duty on merchandise, and the sooner this financial injustice is removed the better."

He contended before the Welby Commission that the increase in expenditure and the consequent financial

embarrassments were to be ascribed principally to the enormous growth of military expenditure. It is the scheme of amalgamation of 1889 which made the Indian Army uniform in all respects with the English army that has led to the growth in military expenditure. As Mr. Wacha pointed out in his speech delivered before the seventh Session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur; "It was virtually a partnership transaction, as was observed by the late Prof. Fawcett in which the stronger and the richer partner successfully managed to foist on the weaker and the poorer, burdens which really did not belong to her. Before 1864 and 1885 they had increased it (military expenditure) by five crores. Since the days of the Second Afghan War of unhappy memory, there has been no limit to that growth." The burden of military charges has increased in consequence of changes made "in the organization of the British army, changes made entirely, it may be said, from Imperial considerations, in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced." It is not necessary to mention in this connection the facts and figures by which Mr. Wacha proves his case to the hilt. The frontier wars have enormously added to the weight of the taxation which the poor people of India have to bear with uncomplaining patience. "The military tax-eaters at Simla, who eagerly pant for promotions, decorations, and kudos besides, do not have a stone unturned, under one pretext or another, to push forward what is euphemistically termed "the scientific frontier" a visionary frontier leading nowhere, but ever plunging the country into greater and greater financial embarrassments". The practical suggestions that he made before the Welby commission with regard to military expenditure are:—(I) That the military expenditure

865

must be materially reduced; and (2) The costly foreign agency must be gradually replaced by an economical native agency, and a fair share of the expenditure must be borne by the United Kingdom for interests common to both countries. I need not go into the great moral and material drain of this alien agency which the country has been witnessing for years past.

On the apportionment of charges his opinions may be summed up in these words:—(1) That in reference to all charges which are incurred for the common interests both of England and India, it is just and expedient that England should bear at least half of those paid for the European agency, military and civil, employed in England and India. (2) That India should not be called upon to pay any charges ordinary or extraordinary whatever in reference to all services which India may be called upon to render to England, unless India was directly interested, and that in such case the charges should also be equally borne by England and India. (3) That Indian affairs must be kept within the natural boundaries of India, and she should not be dragged into those matters outside those boundaries, and made to pay their cost. (4) That if India is to be treated as a partner which she is not in any sense at present, she should share all the benefit accruing from that partnership.

The public service commission made certain recommendations which, although they did not do full justice to our claims to higher and more extended employment in the higher grades of the public service, have been practically ignored. Speaking on a

resolution of the 17th Session of The Indian National Congress, held at Madras, he said that "the economic drain can never be stopped until all the higher appointments are given in considerably a large proportion to natives. They say that a certain number of appointments should be always held by the English for efficiently superintending the administration of the country. We are willing that such fair number of appointments should be reserved. But after all, superintending appointments for administrative efficiency could only be very limited; the remaining appointments should be very large. But monopolist as the Government is, I suppose, it feels bound to carry on the traditions of the East India Company who were great seekers of place and power. The Civil Service is nothing if not a close service of the greatest monopolists of place and power in the world. Still more so, because they are masters of the situation. The Government consists solely of these monopolists. They are clear adepts at passing resolutions as to how to reserve all the fattest and the most numerous appointments for themselves. There is again their counterpart the India Office. Some of the retired civilians who have sufficiently fattened here allow themselves to fatten there for at least ten years; and in the bargain do what they can to starve the very natives of India whose salt they eat all through their retirement. This is the situation, gentlemen. Imagine the economic evil of the salaries and pensions enjoyed by this army of monopolists. But this economic stress would be reduced if the Government were to act in good faith, that is, carry out the declared policy of this country, of diverse charters and the Queen's Proclamation.

The imposition of the Excise Duty of 3½ per cent on cotton fabrics manufactured in this country is felt, as a grievous injustice and a resolution of the Ahmadabad Congress earnestly prayed that the Grvernment would be pleased to take the matter into consideration, and repeal the duty at an early date : "The Excise Duty was imposed not for revenue purposes but to please those philistines the Manchester manufacturers, because they have got something like 57 votes in the House of Commons. Gentlemen, as far as India is concerned, whichever ministry is in power—whether liberal or conservative—they invariably sacrifice her interests for the benefit of the Manchester manufacturers, because their vote is so powerful. The Editor of the *Times of India* says that it is but right and proper that the English public should know what Indian public opinion is on this question, and how keenly Indians feel the apparent injustice of this imposition. They say it is for protection. But, where is the protection, we ask? We asked that question eight years ago when the duty was imposed and we are still waiting for the answer. There are 30 crores worth of piece goods annually imported from Lancashire, but against this quantity we have no such goods to compete, for practically all the Indian piece goods are of coarser make. They belong to counts ranging from 1 to 20 or from 20 to 24, whereas all the goods that come here from Manchester are above 20 or what they call usually 32 medium, ranging from 24 to 36. As far as the average 32 million is concerned India weaves very little of this quality.....The revenue derived from this imposition amounts to about Rs. 17 lakhs a mere flea-bite. These Rs.17 lakhs have annually been taken as duty from the Weaving-Mills of Bombay and

Ahmedabad during the last 8 years. Practically it means that this amount of 1.36 crores has gone out of the pockets of the Indian tax-payers into the pockets of the Government of India for no purpose whatever."

We have given quotations from some of the speeches of Mr. Wacha on the various highly technical subjects of finance and revenue, but no one could form an adequate idea of the wealth of his information who has not devoted a considerable time to the study of such questions. He is still alive among us, pursuing his occupation with the placed serinity, of a conscientious mind, ever alive to the varying needs of a complicated situation, and it is devoutly hoped that he will be with us for many years to come, blessed with strength and faith to work for the political advancement of our land. A public man in this country cannot command any other reward than the applause of his countrymen and, above all, the approbation of his own conscience, the silent monitor within him. Mr. Wacha has the full assurance that his countrymen owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his services, and we are equally confident that he enjoys the approval of his conscience, the highest reward that it is given to the noblest and purest of men to obtain.

The Indian Currency Question.

(*Madras Congress* 1898).

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—The Resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows:

(*a*) That, having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by exchange is the steady growth in the demands on India for expenditure in England, this Congress is of opinion that any artificial device for

meeting that loss either by changing the currency at a heavy cost or contracting the internal currency must add to the pressure on Indian's monetary resources and to her trading disadvantage.

(*b*) That the only real relief lies in carrying out practically the principle, affirmed by competent authorities, of England bearing an equitable share of that expenditure.

(*c*) That the Congress regrets that, save Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Mr. Merwanji Rastamji, competent and qualified Indian representatives have not yet been invited as witnesses to represent the Indian view of matters on the subject which now engages the attention of the Currency Committee of which Sir. Henry Fowler is the President.

(*d*) That the President be authorized to request Sir W. Wedderburn, Chairman of the British Congress Committee, to communicate this Resolution to Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman of the Currency Committee in London.

From the Resolution that I have just read out to you, it will no doubt be readily understood how important is this subject of currency at the present moment, and how far-reaching is it in its effects, intimately bound up as it is with the whole economic situation of a country so vast as India. When you reflect on the fact that the welfare of the people of a country greatly depends on its economic conditions, of which currency is one of the most potent, you will, I dare say, readily admit the influence such a condition exerts not only on the material prosperity of the population as a whole, but on that of each unit composing

870

it. You may, therefore, easily realise what is it to alter the established currency of a country like India with its three hundred millions of people. Practically, its effects have influence on each unit of those millions. They affect you and they affect me. (*Hear, hear.*) But though each individual feels their influence, he is not able to probe the cause or causes to the root. Highly technical as this subject of currency is, it is obvious that the difficulty of apprehending it lies in its manifold aspects. But technical though it be, I hope not to tire your patience while I am descanting on it, or make you go to sleep. I cannot say that I will keep you quite enlivened as our friend Mr. Khaparde (*cheers*) did yesterday by his humorous speech in connexion with the retrogressive policy of our rulers in the matter of Local Self-Government. Currency, in the first place, is rather too serious a subject to be trifled with, and, in the second place, it will not lend itself to humour.

I shall at the outset recall to your mind, as briefly as possible, the history of the currency legislation during the last five years and then survey the situation as revealed by the evidence recorded before the Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President. Ladies and Gentlemen, from the very day that the new currency nostrum, officially known as the Amended Coinage Act of 1893, was enacted as law within half an hour by the Legislature at Simla, without any of the representatives of the people being summoned for the occasion, it has often occurred to me that the Government of India and the services were entirely going wrong on this question. We have among us a native proverb, at least on my side of India, that when the stomach is in disorder it is the head that

is complained of. While the stomach is aching the head is needlessly accused. (*Laughter*). Precisely in the same way, the disease, Ladies and Gentlemen, is not currency at all, but the Home Charges. It is misleading for the Government and its high officials to avert that it is the instability of exchange which has disturbed the finances for many a year past; and that the great divergence between the value of gold and silver is the cause of that instability. In their opinion, that cause could only be removed by altering the currency. Everything would under that circumstance go right. The financial embarrassments would be a thing of the past and prosperity would return to the State. But the authorities entirely ignored the fact that exchange would never be a disturbing factor were the gold obligations of the Government non-existent. Exchange was only the result of those obligations. The obligations themselves are the primary cause, the fountain and origin, of the great evils to be relieved for which they loudly insist upon a change of currency. You all know what is a patent fact, that these gold obligations have now mounted up to nearly 17 millions sterling, (*Hear, hear.*) There has been for years past a steady growth in the demands made on India by the Home Government for expenditure incurred in England. But before I dilate on this question of the Home Charges which alone, I repeat, are the root of the present financial difficulty, and not currency, I trust you will bear with me for a few moments while I endeavour to recall to your mind the history of the Currency legislation since 26th June 1893.

It was on that fateful day that the older Currency Act, which for many a year past had worked most

872

smoothly, most automatically, and to the greatest welfare of the people, was superseded by an amended one whereby the mints were entirely closed to the free coinage of silver. All the economic evils from which the people at large and the banking and mercantile communities have suffered and are suffering since that event, owe their origin to that measure which has often been characterised, and in my opinion justly characterised, as "the crime of 26th June 1893." (*Hear, hear.*) As I observed at one of the previous Congresses, that legislation was purely the off spring of panic. We have had more than one piece of panic legislation, of a most mischievous and obnoxious character (*Hear, hear*) since that date; but this particular enactment was the result of the economic panic which has seized the Government of India and of which it seems it has not yet ridden itself. Without caring to carefully diagnose the true complaint, the Government jumped to the conclusion that it was the great disparity between silver and gold which created all the financial disturbance. It, therefore, straightway forged a new Currency Act and passed it in half-an-hour, with merely the semblance of a debate, while there was not a single representative of the people to explain the popular view of that measure. Had there been such representatives, they might have informed the Legislature of the immense mischief that enactment was certain to create and the dislocation of the trade it would bring in its train. How the great staple manufactures and industries suffered, how exports contracted, how confidence was shaken, and how suspense and anxiety for months prevailed, are now all matters of history. The Government, frightened merely by the rumour of what the Treasury of the

United States might do in connexion with the Sherman Act, thought that silver would depreciate further and that exchange would rule lower than even a shilling, bringing about an appalling deficit! However, the unwise and ill-considered step was taken, in spite of the protest of the whole country save the selfish services and the interested members of the Gold Defence Association, led by Sir James Mackay. The principal object of the measure was to induce a stable ratio, such as would remain steady somewhere at 16 pence. But it was soon discovered that no such stability could be imparted and no such rate could be maintained. It was fondly entertained by the currency prodigies at head-quarters that the immediate effect of the closure of the mints would be a diminition of the imports of silver. But to their intense disappointment that hope was not realised. The very first trouble which exercised their mind was the continued importation of the metal. The average in the four years following was only half a crore below the normal average of the thirty-five years previous, namely, 7 crores. This important fact proved the failure of the measure. Exchange ruled as under after the date of the closure:—

at	14·5	pence	in 1893-4
„	13·10	„	in 1894-5
„	13·63	„	in 1895-6
„	14·48	„	in 1896-7

Silver could not be shut out. In my opinion it never could be shut out, however stringent and prohibitive legislation might be. As you all know, India is the sink of silver. From time immemorial it has absorbed the white metal and will continue to absorb it though it may for a time be artificially shut out. It has

been found to be the most suitable metal for all economic as well as domestic purposes. It is a fundamental axiom of economists that currency should not be of a material which is not suitable and convenient to the people. Only the other day, Sir R. Giffen, in his able criticism on the Government of india's proposal, in the *Economic* journal for October last, emphasised that fundamental proposition. Lord Rothschild has been of the same opinion. Hence to shut out silver from India is simply a hopeless task. It will be purely Sisyphean in its character. The sooner, therefore, the currency quacks cure themselves of this craze to boycott silver from this ancient country the better. (*Hear, hear.*)

But when they found that silver could not be shut out and that exchange, in spite of the closure of the mints, went downward and downward till at one moment it almost reached one shilling, they thought of another panacea, equally futile. The next measure was the Gold Bill which Sir James Westland thought would stimulate the inflow of gold. But as the fates would have it, no sooner was this precious measure, the offspring of that great financial paragon, (*Laughter*) passed into law, than it became abortive—a dead letter on the Statute-book. It was pronounced to be an abortion from the very first. And the thing had to be quietly buried without shedding one tear over it, for not many ounces of gold were offered at the Treasuries, and the bankers laughed heartily in their sleeves at that impotent attempt to prop up exchange. (*Hear, hear.*) Meanwhile, there intervened the troubles of the famine first, and of the pestilence later on. Expedition, again, beyond the natural boundaries of the

country, were organised on the flimsiest of flimsy pretexts. The combined influences of these events were most embarrassing to the finances. Whilst they were in the midst of these physical and economic troubles, a ray of hope was offered by two great Western States. France and the United States suggested a proposal for re-opening of the mints under certain conditions. One of these conditions was that the ratio should be maintained at 15½. That, of course, was out of the question. But the question of the ratio alone should not have caused the contemptuous rejection of the proposal as a whole, calculated as it was to bring about some definite solution of the silver difficulty. By hook or by crook, the Indian Government had worked itself into a frame of mind which could not accept anything which went to rehabilitate silver. Gold and gold alone was determined upon as the panacea for the state of affairs which their own economic policy of years had ultimately induced. Thus, the Government gave a *nonpossumas* to the proposal. In my personal opinion it was an excellent one which, had it been well considered and adopted after reasonable modifications, might have by this time fairly solved our difficulties. That was another grave blunder in matters of currency. Even such an apologist of the Government of India as the *Pioneer* pointed out the error and expostulated on its summary rejection. That it was a huge blunder was further confirmed by Lord Rothschild in his evidence the other day before the Currency Committee (*Hear, hear.*) This was the third stage of the Governmental failure to induce stability in exchange.

Meanwhile the aggressive border expedition, the famine and the pestilence combined to exhaust the cash balances. They went down considerably

below the normal figure, causing severe stringency in the monetary market against which the entire Indian and Anglo-Indian community raised a cry. While this was the prevalent condition of affairs, the master mind of Sir James Westland was busy manufacturing another nostrum to relieve the country of its so-called currency embarrassments. He conceived, what he thought was a most happy and practical idea, of entirely divorcing the Rupee from the bullion, whereby the value of the former could be artificially raised beyond its intrinsic worth and at the same time the gold standard passed under the Amended Coinage Act of 1893 could be forced by gradually melting down the reserve Rupee in the Treasury. That so preposterous a scheme, fraught with economic evils of greater magnitude than those wrought by the previous measure, should have at all been proposed passes comprehension! No sooner was it officially given out then it raised an emphatic protest from all quarters. There was not a single apologist of that measure to bless it. Its absurdity and mischievous effect, if it passed, were seen through. It became the subject of the most hostile criticism in the press and in the banking and the commercial circles (*Hear, hear*). But Sir James thought he was, at the close of his financial career, achieving a most wonderful miracle in currency— a miracle which would enable the Indian Government to roll in wealth in future, expunge that official and canting phrase "low exchange" from future financial statements, and assist him to retire in a blaze of glory (*Laughter*). Little did he think of the storm that would rage round that pet measure, and little did he know how much unrest and dissatisfaction the very pronouncement of it would create in all parts

of the country. The divorce of the Rupee from silver has already appreciated that coin beyond its intrinsic worth. It is now valued at about 45 per cent. higher. So that practically the Rupee *is not the honest Rupee* which the Legislature has defined. Its value bears no proportion to the standard weight. It is something else. The evils of this dishonest Rupee are patent to you all and I need not dilate on them. None has better described them than Mr. David Yule at the meeting of the Calcutta Bank some weeks ago. But this is the preposterous proposal of the Finance Minister, which is now the subject of investigation by that packed Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the Chairman. We need not anticipate the conclusions of that Committee, though it should not create any surprise if it registers the decision at which the Indian Government has already arrived (*Hear, hear*). But, I repeat, preposterous as this proposal is, and calculated as it is to create greater evils in the near future, it is the duty of this Congress to enter its emphatic protest against this latest currency nostrum as against any other panacea which may have for its object an alteration of the currency which, as I have said, is all right—a currency against which the people have never complained, a currency which in the opinion of all sound experts is the most suitable and convenient to the people of India and in every way beneficial to their material progress (*Hear, hear.*)

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, brings me to my next point which is the kernel of the resolution I read to you. I have already remarked that the Indian Government has all through gone on the wrong track, that there is nothing the matter with currency. What is wrong is *the policy* of the Government which for

878

well-nigh a century past has gone on steadily increasing the expenditure in England on account of India. We are at present reaching almost the culminating point. The evils of the Home Charges are accumulating and accumulating till at last they are about to bring the Government and the people face to face with them. It has been noisily said these last ten years that exchange has been the sole disturbing factor of Indian finances, that unless the exchange difficulty is sloved there can be no relief, and that the only way to obtain relief is to alter the currency. Gold is the metal of Europe. India's external trade is principally with the gold using countries. Therefore, gold should be adopted. It is forgotten that after all it is not the mere external trade, chiefly in the hands of foreigners, that has to be looked to. We have to look to the larger and more extensive internal trade, so closely connected with the economic condition of the cultivator and the other producers who really are the backbone of the external trade (*Hear, hear.*) Looked at from that point of view, the proposal for a gold currency falls to the ground, For consider how you may, you cannot help admitting, bearing in mind the poverty of the people and their immemorial habits and usages, the fact that gold can never become the currency. Silver alone is suitable and convenient It is the natural currency. And therefore the natural alone should be adopted. For every thing artificial and unnatural must sooner or later come to grief. The ryots and other producers have already grievously suffered by the artificiality; and it would be a greater crime than that of 26th June 1893 to propose a gold currency which nobody wants, save the selfish services and a few interested foreigners.

Now, let us examine this question of exchange which is said to be the *dues ex machina* of all troubles. What is this exchange ? It is simply this. That by reason of a mistaken policy the Indian Government has incurred many a State obligation in gold while collecting all its revenue in silver. That it discharges railway interest and pensions to civil and military officers in gold, and that beyond these it purchases stores and other articles in England which have to be paid for in gold. That so far these "Home Charges," as the expenditure above referred to is called, are steadily growing. And with such growing expenditure exchange thereon grows apace. The sterling liabilities —a portion of which it is notorious, is unjustly foisted on India, as was made clear before the Welby Commission by both official and Indian unofficial witnesses —have steadily grown from 12½ millions, which was the average of the five years ending with 1876, to 17 millions or thereabouts. And no expenditure in recent times has grown faster than the miltary. It is the appalling growth of the military expenditure since 1885, when owing to the revival of the external policy of aggression under Lord Dufferin, there was an addition to the strength of the existing army by way of 10,000 European and 20,000 native troops, which has mainly to answer for the embarrassed finances, and next the repeated border expeditions which have entailed something like 12 crores within 12 years (*Hear, hear.*)

But to come to the sterling obligations. Practically, these have increased to the extent of about 4½ millions while silver has been depreciating in its gold value since 1873. It has often been proclaimed from the platform of the Finance Minister in Calcutta that every million charge of sterling correspondingly

entails a greater loss in exchange. That every fall of a penny adds over a crore to the burden of that item. If this be the economic fact, was it wise on the part of the Government of India to have gone on adding to their sterling obligations from time to time, while silver measured by the value of gold was steadily declining? Commonsense would have suggested one of three alternatives: either a cessation of borrowing in sterling or no borrowing at all or borrowing in silver. But as a matter of fact they have been burning the candle at both ends. At one end they are under one pretext or other increasing their sterling obligations entailing heavier "loss by exchange" so called; while at the other they are incurring heavier expenditure on account of border warfare, generally unprovoked and uncalled for. Is it possible that a country situated as India is, under a foreign domination which drains away a greater portion of its annual surplus of wealth, can withstand that burden yearly growing heavier? (*Hear, hear.*) But this is the situation. The cry that so many crores of Rupees have now to be annually paid as the equivalent of the sterling liabilities in a depreciated silver currency, would never have been heard were it not for the policy which has entailed those obligations. Diminish these add *pro tanto* so many less number of Rupees will have to be paid for the equivalent, which is the same thing as bringing greater relief to the Treasury. The cry, I repeat, must cease, with the greater diminution in the Home Charges. But it should not be forgotten here that all these Home Charges are paid *in produce*. Therefore, it has come to pass that with the increased burden of exchange, the producers of produce have to part with larger quantities which, however, have not

brought to them any corresponding gain in their money value. The economic effect of these charges is that prices of the staple articles of exports have been lower. At any rate, the ryot has parted with his larger produce at or about the same price that he did twenty years ago with a less quantity. We are now-a-days hearing too much of this cant of larger exports. But a little study of the question will at once tell you that these larger exports, for a debtor country like India, mean nothing short of larger sacrifices of the national wealth (*Hear, hear.*) And while such is the condition of the producers they have artificially raised the value of the Rupee which, it is superfluous to say, adds not a little to their burden. Whether there is any corresponding gain is problematical. Yet this important question has hardly been investigated by the Currency Committee.

To return to the Home Charges. Those having reference to the military expenditure are very considerable indeed. Many of these charges have been protested against. I am quite convinced that if the burden on account of military expenditure alone was reduced, a material relief would be afforded and India would be able to pay its way without the wail of exchange. This military expenditure, as I have often observed on the Congress platform and elsewhere, is the consequence of the policy of external aggression pursued by the English Government since the acquisition of Quetta in 1876 and the date of the Second Afghan War. It is with a view to maintaining its supremacy in the East that England has, as the predominant partner in the matter of Army expenditure under the fatal Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, imposed the most inequitable burdens on India. These burdens

882

have been inveighed against not only by this Congress and by the country at large, but by the Government of India itself in more than one public despatch. They were recounted before the Welby Commisssion. One of the latest despatches submitted to that body observed as follows: "Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India, on armaments and fortifications, to provide for the security of India, not against the domestic enemies or to prevent the incursions of the warlike people of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of all these great and costly measures reaches far beyond Indian limits and the policy which dictates them is an imperial policy. We claim, therefore, that in the maintenance of British forces in this country a just and even liberal view should be taken of the charges which should be legitimately made against Indian revenues" (*Hear, hear*).

It will be thus seen that a part of the sterling obligations in England is unjustly foisted upon India, while military expenditure grows apace regardless of India's ability and regardless of the economic conditions of the people. It is the combined pressure of these two burdens which have now proved too heavy to be borne; and that the so-called "loss by exchange" is the tangible manifestation thereof. If owing to this exchange the Indian Government now cries aloud for an alteration in the currency, is it not strange for it to ignore the very root and origin of that exchange? And if the root can be eradicated where may be the necessity of change in the currency? But it is most astonishing to observe that the Indian Government should beat about the bush and attribute to silver all the faults which should properly be attributed to

the *policy* which for years past is augmenting the sterling liabilities of which the most inequitable and oppressive is the military expenditure. Again, to me it is most astonishing that not a single official or non-official witness has submitted to the Currency Committee this aspect of the present situation. Perhaps the only non-official witness who had a perception of it was Sir Forbes Adam, a gentleman of great liberalism, than whom very few understand better the real Indian view of this currency question (*Cheers*). He is a name to be conjured with. But even Sir Forbes was not able to bring clearly to the notice of the Committee this aspect of the currency to which I am now referring. The question was asked, if the currency was to remain undisturbed, how was the heavier loss by exchange, with the greater decline in the gold value of silver, to be met? To that it is a matter of regret no definite reply was made. Curtailment of the Home Charges, specially military, should have been the answer. It is true that nearly one third of these are on account of interest on Guaranteed and State Railways. But there has been a culpable neglect in this particular liability. It was years ago, I think, somewhere about 20 years since, that Sir John Strachey, as Finance Minister, recommended that the Railway liabilities should be commuted into silver. Had that been adopted the Indian Government might not have been in the sorry plight that it is to-day and might not have thought of tinkering or tampering with the currency. But that recommendation was pigeonholed by the India Office, the vested interests being too powerful. As the time however for the purchase of the two remaining Guaranteed Railways is now very imminent, there is nothing to prevent the India Office from

884

buying these companies off and issuing the necessary debentures for their purchase in silver, say at an annual interest of 3½ or 4 per cent. payable in silver. It would be a fixed and certain liability. The relief which might be given to India by this one transaction alone would more than compensate for all the evils the country has suffered in the past. I admit that the vested interests will do their best to resist the suggested commutation. But if there be sufficient moral courage and statesmanship at the India Office the difficulties could be easily overcome. As to the interest on the sterling loans which now average about 2½ millions, nothing need be said. The amount of interest is not so burdensome as the Home Charges of the Military Department which in recent years has mounted up to 3¾ millions. In fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will perceive from the figures I am just going to quote that, next to the interest on State and Guaranteed Railways, the heaviest burden of sterling obligations is on account of the Army Services in England. In 1896-97 the various obligations stood as under :

Railway Interest ...	5·80
Military Charges	3·68
Interest on Gold Loans	2·67
Civil Charges ...	2·28

The balance is made up of miscellaneous items. It wil be thus seen that were there a curtailment of the military Charges incurred at home and were there a fair and reasonable commutation of railway interest into silver, the difficulties of the Indian Government would at once be solved. Where there is a will there is a way. But so long as no effort is made on behalf of the Indian people, and so long as the vested interests are deliberately pampered and nursed, there

can be no hope of any financial salvation. Not even a gold currency may mitigate the growing burdens.

But I shall now specifically refer to these military charges which demand 3¾ millions and over of sterling remittances per year. In my supplementary evidence, in connexion with the Welby Commission, I observed that the whole burden of exchange entailed on the Indian finances during the ten years ending 1895-96 was 43 crores of Rupees or say 4. 3 crores per year. Of this as much as 27 crores or 63 per cent. was on account of military expenditure alone. This heavy sum might have been considerably less but for the fact of the addition made to the Army in India in 1885. Had the strength of the Army been maintained at the figure it was prior to that year, I estimated that the military exchange would have come to 12·85 crores in the decade. Practically then the increased exchange which India had to pay to in the ten years for the increased Army Services came to 14·52 crores in ten years. Now, I would for a moment endeavour to fix your attention to the net burden of new and enhanced taxation during the same period. In his rebutting evidence, given before the Commission on 21st July 1897, the late Mr. Jacob, whose premature death I and my other friends who were witnesses greatly deplore, and whose courtesy we all greatly appreciate, stated that taxation amounted to 23·31 crores. To this has to be added, as I pointed out, suspended famine grants and unrefunded provincial balances amounting to 5·41 crores. The total comes to 27·72 crores. Now according to Mr. Jacob's own figures, the increased cost on account of the increased troops amounted to 33·94 crores in ten years *without exchange*. With

886

exchange it came to 48·46 crores. Had there been no additional troops all this sum might have been saved against which as much as 27·72 crores of new taxation, &c., had to be raised. In fact while 48·46 crores might have been saved, the net expenditure of exchange, as just stated, would have been no more than 28·75 crores. Practically, the result would have been a surplus of about 20 crores in the decade, despite the fact that Civil Charges had also greatly increased but some of which being of a reproductive character much complaint against their growth need not be made.

From the above facts it would be clear to you that India has in no way suffered on account of exchange, because exchange would have been fairly met from the revenues, without even a pie of taxation, had it not been principally for the additional military expenditure. Is it impossible to curtail the strength of the Army and bring it back to the number at which it stood in 1885? It would save the Treasury about 3·89 crores without exchange or 5·34 with exchange. This again, brings us to the practical part of the currency problem. I answer the question which the Committee put to some of the witnesses, including Sir Forbes Adam. The Committee inquired of these witnesses, how they would meet the extra charges which might have to be paid in case exchange went below one shilling, were the mints reoponed. I say that these charges could be easily met by the curtailment of the military expenditure which now entials per annum a charge of 2·78 crores for Exchange. If the Army was reduced there would be a saving to the extent of 1·45 crores in exchange alone. The charges for Army Services

proper would besides be less by at least 3 cores. Then, if England only contributes her fair share towards the cost of maintaining her supremacy there would be a still further saving. Of late we have heard that the Welby Commission may propose, such a share, amounting to 1½ crore of Rupees. But this is still a matter in the clouds till we know what the belated report of the Commission actualty recommends (*Hear, hear*). Even then there is the British Treasury to deal with—a very rough and powerful obstruction. But the savings which I have just referred to should easily suffice to meet the extra demand for greater loss by exchange which has long been held out as a buagbear before the ignorant public. On my part, I, do not think that, were the mints reopened to free coinage under proper safeguards and limitations, the Government would find any difficulty wahtever in meeting the apprehended greater loss, without a pie of fresh taxation (*Hear, hear*). Aye not even if exchange went as low as 10 pence, But the fact nevertheless remains that it is the Home Charges which are at the root of the difficulty. Consequently the agitation should proceed, not for the reform of the currency, which has nothing the matter with it, but for the policy on the lines I have indicated. This practically means that the British Government should modify its present policy which regulates all expenditure. The economic evils of carrying on the adminstration by a costly foreign agency are entirely owing to the present mistaken policy. It is against this policy that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been inveighing these many years. India is being bled to an extent unparallelled in the administration of any country in the world, ancient or modern. If the British Indian administration itself, is unparallelled its bleeding

of India too is unique. Cease that bleeding and India will revive. It will be soon in a position to accumulate the surplus wealth which is now drained to England, and have enough capital of its own to develop its material resources with great advantage both to England and India. As Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji truly observed at the meeting in Lancashire last month, the more India grows rich the more it will be in a position to extend its trade in Lancashire goods. Instead of its whole trade with the United Kingdom coming to only two shillings per head it would come to twenty shillings. But the bleeding must cease before that happy event could be realised. It can only cease when the policy of the costly employment of the foreign agency in all its ramifications, administrative and commercial is reversed. The exchange difficulty, now so absurdly found fault with, will cease to exist. India would breathe freely. The currency will operate automatically as it has hitherto done, and both the State and the people will be prosperous. At present not only are the people but their industries and manufactures also are throttled, and under a mistaken conception it is going to throttle them further by its insensate currency proposals!

It is to be devoutly wished that the Currency committee will take evidence on all the points I have just referred to. The mass of evidence recorded up to date reveals absolutely nothing. And no one seems to have touched on these points, which alone in my opinion are most relevant to a correct *diagnosis* of the present complaint. Some witnesses have indirectly referred to the points, specially Sir Forbes Adam with his unique experience of the Indian people and the Indian

economic question. I for one must admit that I am altogether disappointed with the whole evidence. It is mostly official or officialised. The independent evidence, if at all, is on the side of those who are for the reopening of the mints, though, in interested quarters, we have off and on been told, there is the strong belief that it is beyond all hope. That remains to be seen. Lord Rothschild believed in extended exports first and extended railways afterwards. But when may we expect extended exports? Not while the exchange compels, under the present unnatural policy, the producers to part with their produce at low prices. Not while India continues to be a debtor country. The exports would be beneficial to India only when the unnatural economic condition ceases. It is therefore to be earnestly hoped that evidence of competent representative Indians will be taken by the Currency Committee in order to arrive at a correct understanding of the economic situation and be able to advise the Secretary of State as to which is the right and proper remedy to be adopted in the matter (*Hear, hear.*)

If then, I repeat, the military expenditure was curtailed and brought down to the figures at which it stood in the time of Lord Northbrook and Lord Ripon, then I say with confidence, and without the least hesitation, that the entire financial situation would be materially altered for the better. India might pay its way without adding a pie to the existing taxation. Again, if the fire-works which are incessantly being let off at a heavy expenditure, which has averaged over one crore during the last 12 years, beyond the statutory limits of the country, were put a peremptory stop to, and if the many domestic reforms that have been hung

up for many years past, as our friend Mr. Surrendranath Bannerji observed yesterday, were taken on hand, India would really be in a condition of progress. And I may here take the opportunity to remind you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the Herschell Committee had strongly recommended curtailment of expenditure as a first step before taking any action whatever with regard to the closure of the mints. So that in recommending curtailment of expenditure I am not recommending anything new. This curtailment can only follow a change in the present policy which is erroneous. When the policy is put on a sound and natural basis the aspect of expenditure will also be changed and changed for the better. The whole question therefore to be determined is not currency, but *policy*. We must agitate from year to year until the present policy undergoes a material modification. We must agitate till we drive home the truth so clear to us, that the unnatural system of administration is at the root of the financial difficulties and not currency. We should leave no stone unturned to bring the authorities to discern this aspect of the question, if indeed they are not already aware of it. During the 14 years that the Congress has successfully held its annual session, I have found that on almost all the burning questions of the day, the original views held by it, though at first ridiculed and discredited, have at last come to be recognised and acted upon. That experience tells me that in this matter also the position which the Congress will take up in the spirit of the Resolution I have moved will eventually be proved to be absolutely sound. This is my firm conviction, and on the strength of that conviction I now commend the Resolution to your judgment (*Applause*).

891

Rajah
Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I.

The late Mr. Fawcett, that great friend of India in the British House of Commons, called the hero of this biography "The Turgot of India"; and the fitness of this designation would become apparent to all who ask themselves what were the virtues of the Rajah which ensured his success in the States in which he was appointed to guide and elevate the people. He combined in a great degree a large desire for social advancement with a healthy knowledge of the conditions under which improvement can be effected. There is probably more of the element of caution and consciousness of present limitations in his writings and speeches than visions of future good. The man who is merely inflated by lofty dreams of social good is apt to became mischievous, empty and unpractical; and he who never raises his eyes from the dusty present is in equal danger of degenerating into a narrow pedant and uninspiring worker. It may be said that although the Rajah was not without his glimpses of the future good, he was alive to the actualities of the situation. There is also another cause that made the Rajah give vent to statements having the appearance of oracles, which irritated aspiring minds as if hard and polished stones were thrown at them, instead of their being led into a position of strength by clear thinking and inspiring views. He was for many years in the service of the Government, and most of his labours were performed

892

in backward Native States which were on the verge of dissolution and which he saved by his firmness and practical ability. It was not posssible for him in these circumstances to rise to grand heights. He knew men too well, and knowing them too well, it was not easy for him to say smooth and flattering things to men who had not realized the weaknesses that were inherent in their own individual nature and in their social constitution.

As a social reformer, he was too cautious, and therefore could not please the furious zealot who hopes that society will be perfected by a mere pious wish. His contributions on social questions under the *nom de plume* of "A Native Thinker" were a stumbling block to the impetuous enthusiast. He seceded from the Standing Committee of the Congress because he did not approve of the scheme of reformed Legislative Councils which Madras had the honour of devising and which was adopted by the National Congress held at Bombay in 1889. We have no hesitation in saying that he was in this respect too timid to suit the temperament of even sober minds, and that he did not perceive that a people could not be made fit for electoral representation by a sudden process but must be trained in it, even if mistakes are likely to be committed in the process of education. He was elected as Chairman of the inaugural meeting of the Third Indian National Congress held at Madras, and expressed views which were in accord with those of the delegates assembled. He hailed the advent of the Indian National Congress as "the sundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation". He had not

a very high opinion of representative government. "The great experience of Europe has shown that representative government contains much good and much evil. In introducing it into India, therefore, responsible British statesmen have to exercise great care and caution, that the good is produced and that the evil is excluded. In these circumstances it might be wrong to introduce that system into India at once, merely because the Congress asks for it. It is absolutely necessary to take measures gradually, and tentatively." It is on grounds like these that he opposed the scheme of the Madras committee, and his attitude brought on him the vehement attacks of many of the sons of India who were inclined to resent as crabbed conservatism born of too long service in rotten Native States where the surgeon's knife was more often in requisition than gradual amelioration. He thought with naive simplicity that the people were like the patient and that the Government represented the doctor. This analogy is not at all true to the facts of history, and that he should build his advice to political agitators on the slender basis of a too superficial comparison shews how his mind was more in sympathy with the bureaucratic government than with popular aspirations.

Madhava Rao was born at Kumbakonam, and belonged to a Mahratta Brahmin family that had migrated to the south in the days when the Mahratta Empire was being extended in all directions. He had the benefit of being born and bred up in a family of statesmen; his uncle Venkata Rao identified himself with the British cause and entered the service of the Travancore State and rose soon to the position of Dewan. His own father Ranga Rao also was in the

894

service of the Travancore State, and gained prominence by his official abilities. For six years Madhava Row studied at the Government school at Madras under that eminent mathematician, Mr. E. B. Powell. He attained proficiency in mathematics, and his distinguished teacher exerted himself to make him act as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. 1849 he. got an appointment in the Accountant General's Office at Madras, and after a few years' service he went to Travancore to superintend the education of the Princes of Travancore. So well did he acquit himself in his new sphere of work that in 1853 he was given an influential post in the revenue line. He gained the good wishes of the Maharaj by the " interest and integrity manifested by him in the capacity of a public servant " and was raised to the post of Dewan Peshkar. At the time of Madhava's entrance into the service of Travancore, the state of affairs was throughly intolerable and the chaos and protection of maladministration that prevailed was brought to the notice of Lord Dalhousie, the " annexation-Viceroy " who held up the menace of annexation before the Maharaja if no improvement was made within the near future. The chief executive officers of the divisions of the State did not live in the centre of the sphere of official work, but resided in the capital and sauntered away their time in intrigues against the Chief Dewan. He proposed to the Maharaja that that the entire province should be divided into districts and that each district or group of districts should be placed under the control of a Dewan Peishkar, responsible to the chief Dewan, for the due administration thereof. This suggestion met with the Maharajah's hearty concurrence and Madhava Rao was entrusted with the charge of the

southern districts, and within a short period he extricated his districts from all those embarrassments and corruptions which had brought disgrace upon the Travancore administration. In the words of the Political officer, "within the short space of a year, Madhava Rao had called forth order out of disorder; had distributed justice between man and man, without fear or favour; had expelled dacoits; had raised the revenues; and his minutes and State papers shewed the liberality, the soundness and the statesmanship of his views and principles. He had received the thanks of his sovereign; he had obtained the voluntary admiring testimony of some of the very missionaries who memorialized, to the excellence of his administration." In the year 1857 Dewan Krishna Rao died and Madhava Row was chosen to the high office of Dewan by the Maharajah, and entered upon the discharge of onerous duties when he was only thirty years of age, not an age generally remarkable for maturity of judgment and firmness of resolution.

The Travancore State then presented a spectacle which well would have shaken the courage of even the most experienced statesmen. But Madhava Rao undeterred by the frightful prospect of corruption, oppression, and imbecility that met his views, set about bringing the administration into line with the soundest principles of modern Government and political economy. The principles which guided the politicians in the Native States were in those days absolutely barren and savoured of uncontrolled despotism for the benefit of unscrupulous officials. Madhava Rao perceived that "it is in the gradual and judicious extension in the Native

States of the general principles of government which are applied in British territory that their rulers will find the surest guarantee of their administrative independence, and the best safeguard against intervention on the part of the paramount power." With a clear grasp of the moral principles of progressive Government, he felt that an entire change was needed to meet the requirements of the altered condition of things in Native States. We shall briefly record some of his victories in peace, victories no less brilliant than those of the commander in war.

The Brahman supremacy was exercised in a manner, thoroughly intolerable to the lower classes. Centuries of degradation had created in the *shanar* classes a habitual feeling of servility, but, with the touch of Western civilization, they had begun to resent the degrading restraints that were imposed upon them. And these restrictions led to serious riots between the Brahmans and the *Shanars*, when Madhava Rao went to the scene and had the leaders of the riots arrested and with the Maharajah's consent, he prohibited the Brahmans from any interference with the customs of the *shanars*.

The Maharajah died at this juncture, and in his successsor on the gadi, Prince Ravi Varma, Madhava Row had a courageous supporter of his new policy. The fiscal system was in a hopelessly rotten condition. Many monopolies and burdensome taxes were gradually abolished. The monopoly of the pepper trade was extinguished, and an export duty was imposed. The abolition of the tobacco monopoly next engaged his attention. In the place of the monopoly, he

adopted a scale of import which was high in the beginning but was reduced later on and thus the wisdom of his policy was proved by the growth of the import trade in tobacco. The many subordinate taxes which were vexatious and costly in collection but which yielded no great revenue to the State were abolished to the relief of the people. There was considerable reduction made in the land-tax in one district. A fresh impetus was given to both exports and imports by the more or less general abolition of duties on exports and imports, consequent upon the commercial treaty between the British Government and Sirkars of of Travancore and Cochin by which goods imported from and through British territory were exempted from duties. The exports rose from three million and a half of rupees in value in 1861-1862 to seven millions and a quarter in 1868-1869. But the result of the adoption of this free trade policy was the increase in the salt duty which presses heavily on the people, salt being one of the prime necessities of life. The policy and interference of the British Government brought about an increase in the salt duty, and many critics of Madhava Rao blamed him for yielding to the dictation of the British Government and for not protecting the interests of the people committed to his charge.

The Public Service next claimed his attention. The temptation to corruption was removed by raising salaries in the police and judicial services. The Public Works and Educational Departments were placed on a better scale. In spite of the heavy expenditure entailed by these new schemes, he managed to pay an enormous public debt. The State was saved from being plunged into the gulf of financial ruin. Madhava Rao was unable

to curtail expenditure on the charities divided by the State for the feeding of Brahmans. There was nothing which he did not improve by his touch, and the solitary changes brought about in the general administration of Travancore were the highest results of the great genius of Madhava Rao.

In addition to the improvement *immorale*, of the Public Service Madhava Rao imparted efficiency which is at present regarded by many statesmen as the sole test of a useful government. The assimilation of the methods of the administration of justice in Travancore to those prevalent in British India was brought about by the extension of the provisions of The Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Law of Limitation, and the Registration Act. A judicial officer of great experiencc was imported to fill the post of Chief Justice, and able men were appointed as District Judges, and now there was twice the number of Munsiffs, each Taluq being provided with one Civil Court.

The Travancore Sirkar did not put forward the claim to be the sole landlord. Half the lands in the State were owned by private individuals, and the other half was let out to tenant farmers who were in those days subject to an ever-increasing rack rent. The consequence of this system was the precariousness of the position of the tenants and their unwillingness to cultivate the lands to the highest pitch of excellence of which they were capable. Madhava Rao did away with this mischievous lottery system and established a moderate assessment which secured to the tenants' possession for a definite number, of years thereby affording them an inducement to take the greatest pains and to

reserve to themselves the benefits of improved cultivation. The export of coffee and tea grew in volume and value, and the cultivation of chinchona received a stimulus. It is not a matter for surprise that all these varied activities tended to raise the land revenue and free the State from financial perplexities, consequent upon the abolition of the minor taxes which were so great a burden on the tax-payers.

The Public Works of Travancore, undertaken after the reorganization of the department, grew during Madhava Rao's *regime* in magnitude and importance. They added materially to the material prosperity of the State. Nor did his absorption in these measures leave the question of education untouched. Education owes to him still more. There was but one English school worth the name in the whole of Travancore, and as for Vernacular Schools there was none. Alive to the great importance of education, as exemplified in his own case, he strove ceaselessly to extend its benefits to Travancore The old school was improved and a new Arts' college was established to impart higher education. Other schools were also founded in the districts. Sensible that the enduring prosperity of a people must be based upon their enlightment, he did not grudge the increasing sums that were required to meet the expenses of the new schemes for the expansion of education. Pure vernacular schools and girls schools were also established. Madhava Rao's administration was directed "to provide for every subject, within a couple of hours journey, the advantages of a doctor, a schoolmaster, a judge, a magistrate, a registering officer and a post master." His

period of Dewanship was marked by such a brilliant scheme of works of public utility and administrative efficiency, and by such moral rectitude that he might well have felt proud of himself when he received his knighthood. His resignation took place a few months later, and the Maharajah in recognition of his varied services bestowed on him a pension of a thousand rupees per month. He was not allowed to wear the laurels that he had won without being induced to exchange leisure for active work. The Government of India offered him a seat in the Supreme Legislative Council which he did not accept; the reason being evidently that the passive work of a legislature did not suit the vast energies of one who had undertaken and accomplished works requiring more than mere deliberative abilities. Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore came, as it were, to relieve him of the tedium of inactivity, invited him to accept the Dewanship, and he resumed the reins of office in 1878. The State of Indore did not witness as many of his administrative marvels as Travancore, because he was not allowed a free hand, the Maharajah being too zealous a ruler to delegate his powers to a Dewan to be exercised according to his own discretion. But even Indore felt the benefits of his experience and vast abilities. Again while he was performing his duties, the offer came to him that he should go to England to give evidence before a committee on Indian Finance, and he again declined the honour.

About the time the State of Baroda was groaning under the accumulated miseries of despotism, unalloyed by a single trait of good behaviour or by good sense in the Maharajah Mulhar Rao. A commission of enquiry

was appointed and the facts disclosed by the commission constituted such a tale of oppression, misrule, recklessness, and shameful immorality that the paramount Power had no alternative but that of exposing the Maharajah; but it was wisely resolved that the State should not be annexed or placed under the rule of a British political official but entrusted to the care of a native statesman of proved worth and ability during the minority of the young Maharajah. Who was more fitted for the work than Madhava Rao who had already reformed the administration of Travancore and had left the State in a flourishing condition.

The prospect of evils to be remedied presented the same feature to Madhava Rao in Baroda as in Travancore. But he had to grapple with abuses of greater magnitude and of longer standing which had become almost chronic throughout. The intrusion of Madhava Row into Baroda was not regarded with any partiality as being the agent of the English power. The frightful legacy of misrule that came into his hands would have daunted the boldest men but he with his accustomed patience, sagacity and firmness evolved order out of it all. The numerous competitors to the gadi were pacified by handsome donations and allowances. The hangers on of the deposed Maharajah were conceliated in the same way without arousing their fury to intrigue against the new minister. The native officials of the ex-chief of Baroda were compelled to pay off their debts at least in part. The State Banks had been in a state of suspended animation and had been defrauded of their allowances during the previous regime, but the wonderful tact of the new Dewan met all these complications

and solved them with complete success. There were other disputes against the old Maharajah, viz. those of the jewellers whom he had not paid for their jewels, those of the old retainers who had to be provided, those of private tutors whose claims had been improperly dealt with, all these and many others awaited delicate handling and Madhava Rao placed himself equal to the occasion and to the expectations that had been formed of him. It was with breathless suspense that we have to travel over the long road of triumphs which was laid by him in a few years to the infinite credit of himself and the administrative capacities of the natives of India which have been so often denied or minimised.

With the caution that was so characteristic of his nature, he desisted from at once proceeding to introduce an elaborate and technical system of administration which would have roused the suspicions of a simple people, accustomed to more intelligible methods. Peace and order was restored. Taxation was considerably lightened and withal made to yield a surplus for the use of less prosperous years. The Police was reformed. The administration of justice received particular attention. He granted liberal allowances for education, for medical services, and for the construction of works of great usefulness. The finances of the State were in a hopelessly muddled condition. The system of letting the lands to the highest bidders led to the usual growth of evils, and the condition of the exchequer can be best described in the scathing language of Burke. "If was an exchequer wherein extortion was the assessor, fraud the cashier, confusion the accountant, concealment the reporter, and oblivion the remembrancer." He simplified the land-revenue

by the substitution of the ryotwari system. He made it final for a fairly long period of time. The expenditure was also fixed between certain limits, and a surplus was made available for any emergencies that might arise. The daring feats of administrative valour which he accomplished in Baroda, are they not written in every page of the present history of Baroda, which owes its unrivalled pre-eminence among the states of India to the colossal genius of Madhava Rao, and to the commanding personality of the present Maharajah trained under his able guidance and auspices. We cannot better set forth the Herculean labours of Madava Rao than in his own words. "It would be false modesty to disguise the fact that during these five years, our work has been exceedingly heavy and trying, for the fact accounts for our visible delays and deficiencies. It is not simply that we have had to carry on ordinary current business. We have had to investigate and decide a multitude of matters inherited by us, which in number and complexity are probably unsurpassed in any other Native State. We have had to organize the machinery of Government. We have had carefully to consider and carry out reforms. We have had to bring under control a vast expenditure in all its dark and intricate ramifications. We have had to rectify our relations with our numerous and diversified neighbours. In this respect, grave and embarrassing aberrations from sound principles, had, in course of time and neglect, sprung up, and then correction presented peculiar difficulties. We have had to bring them to the notice of the authorities concerned, to explain, to discuss, to convene and somtimes to respectfully expostulate. The extra strain thus caused has, however, begun now sensibly to

diminish, and it is therefore hoped that we shall be increasingly enabled to devote our time and energies to the development of external improvements. It must be frankly admitted that there is still abundant scope for our directions in this direction. All that we claim to have done is that we have fulfilled the primary obligations of a civilized government'.

Some of the critics of Madhava Rao's administration at Baroda have not hesitated to declare that he yielded without protest, whenever, the Imperial Government thought fit to interfere ; and that he was not strong enough to resist the demands of the supreme power; and that his solicitude for the well-being of the State was only subservient to his regard for the official point of views. This criticisim does not take due regard of the fact that Madhava Rao was not a minister of an independent State but of a Feudatory State dependent for its very existence upon the good will of the Paramount Power. It is a mere ignorance of facts to assert that Madhava Rao did not protest against improper claims by the British Government, but he, with his usual practical temper of mind, knew that he ought to protest emphatically against suggested innovations prejudicial to the interests of the State, but he also knew when he ought not to urge his position any further without losing even the chance of a compromise which would do at least some measure of justice. Of course to the closet Statesmen merely reviewing the life of a practical statesman, Madava Rao might appear as too yeilding and timid ' but the practical exigencies of affairs override considerations of mere abstract justice. Madhava Rao was not such an example of administrative unwisdom as to

refuse the half-bread because he could not get the whole bread. The interference of the British Government with the opium, the salt and other concerns of the Baroda State met with many vigorous and slatesman-like protests from Madhava Rao, but the superior position carried the day, and he submitted with good grace. We cannot do full justice to the vast genius, consummate tact, immense patience, wise soboriety of thought, of Madhava Rao. It is a matter of great pride to every one in India that even in these days, when the field for the display of administrative capacity is restricted to the ambition of even the most capable Indian, a man like Madhava Rao could be born and raise the reputation of the Indian name to the loftiest height. It is also a matter of sorrow that men like him cannot aspire to anything higher than work in a Native State; and that they cannot shape the destinies of the Empire and read their history in a nation's eye. The study of his life affords hope that India need not yield to despondency, and that the latest vigour of her sons is yet inexhaustible and that it only needs the touch of new opportunities to disclose deeper mines of political knowledge and wisdom.

Sir Madhava Rao left the Baroda Service in 1882 and lived in Madras where he died at the age of sixty three on the 4th April. To the young men of this generation his name is only a memory, but they can read in his life those qualities of intellect and temperament which eminently qualify one to take a leading part in public deliberations. The union of a massive intellect and shrewd practical sagacity, of vast knowledge and remarkable wisdom, of high ideals of work and moderation of expression, all

these and many other attributes present a striking picture the like of which is hard to recognize at present among the Dewans of the present day. May we learn the lessons of his life and lay them to heart for the up building of our country and the political advancement of her many millions in the sphere of self-government.

Lord Ripon's Rule in India.

(*Speech delivered in opening the proceedings of a public meeting held in Madras on the* 10 *November* 1884, *on the retirement of Lord Ripon.*)

Friends and fellow-countrymen.—We all know that India presents to intelligent contemplation the most capacious, the most splendid theatre ever offered for the exercise of political justice and political benevolence of the highest order. Lord Ripon is now about to retire from that great theatre, after having played there a conspicuous and memorable part for four years and a half (cheers). He will be remembered through the length and breadth of this vast Empire, for the lofty conception of his duty to his subject millions, for the firmness with which he performed his duty, and for the patience and courage with which he withstood his opposition and the obloquy which too often attend greatness in this imperfect world. (Cheers.) History will note with admiration how this British statesman from cold northern latitudes has won the entire confidence of three hundred millions of keen and critical orientals. Every one of these has invincible belief in the rectitude of his intentions and the purity of his motives. Every one has felt assured that the great interests of India could not have been committed to

907

safer custody. (Cheers.) A vast and diversified community has shared the common conviction that no party or political temptations, however strong, could ever seclude him from his lofty ideal justice. He is universally regarded, he is almost idealized, as the embodiment of the highest and purest political virtues. His popularity is so great that a word from him can accomplish more than an army of a hundred thousand bayonets. (Cheers.) One great cause of this immense popularity is that his rule has been dominated by a genuine sympathy for the native populations. (Cheers.) His rule has not been of that cast-iron type—dry rigid, and inelastic—which is so inconsiderately advocated by those who insist upon the rights of conquest. He has felt a personal interest in the welfare of the great masses. (Cheers.) Another cause of that extraordinary popularity is the simple grandeur of his character and policy. There is no cunning in it, no dissimulation—not the slightest tinge of duplicity—no mystery whatever. Everything has been massive and manly—nothing spurious or meretricious. He has been frank and open. He has desired every publicity to be given to the objects and reasons of his measures. He has always manifested a sincere solicitude to obtain a knowledge of the views and feelings of those whom his measures affected, and has given them every due consideration. (Cheers.) There is something in the composition of Lord Ripon, in special harmony with the broad and benevolent principles of the great Proclamation of the Queen issued to India in 1858. He has proved himself the fittest agent to give effect to these principles. Happy, indeed, would India be if the British Cabinet could select a succession of such agents to direct her destinies in the spirit of that great charter.

908

(Cheers.) Lord Ripon's most humane and beneficial career has often reminded me of some eloquent passages in the celebrated speeches of Edmund Burke. As they are worth hearing, I beg to quote them. He speaks of the memorable year which introduced British supremacy into this important part of Asia at a time when the indigenous governments had been broken up, when darkness and confusion covered the land; and laments, that, that supremacy was not then attended with those blessings which might have been expected from the greatest and most enlightened nation of the period. H says, when addressing the House of Lords, "My Lords, to obtain an empire is common, to govern it well has been rare indeed. Hitherto we have not furnished our contingent to the records of honour. We have been confounded with the hordes of conquerors. Our dominion has been a vulgar thing; but we begin to emerge. The year 1756 is a memorable era in the history of the world. It introduced a new nation from the remotest verge of the western world with new manners, new customs, new institutions, new opinions, new laws into the heart of Asia. If at that moment, when it had fallen into darkness and confusion, if in that gloomy season, a star had risen from the west, that would prognosticate a better generation, and would shed down the sweet influence of order, peace, science and security to natives of that vexed and harassed country we should have been covered with genuine honour. It would have been a beautiful and noble spectacle to mankind." If the great orator could rise from his grave and make himself acquainted with the history and effects of Lord Ripon's rule he would heartily exclaim:—"This is what I had wished for India at the hands of England." (Cheers.) In assembling

here to-day to do honour to such a statesman, we are eminently honouring ourselves, to honour our great benefactor, and to offer him the tribute of our gratitude, is a deep-rooted instinct of our nature; let us heartily obey that instinct. It would be superfluous for me to say more to commend the object of this meeting to your favourable consideration. (Cheers.)

Third Indian National Congress.

(Raja Sir. T. Madhava Rao delivered the following address as chairman of the Reception Committee of the 3rd Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1887.)

Gentlemen.—The language of genuine pleasure is short. Iam delighted to meet so many of my countrymen from so many parts of this extensive empire. (*Applause.*) The Congress, every one must now see, is a great success. In fact, it seems, every time it meets, to outgrow its originally contemplated dimensions. My duty now is to offer a cordial welcome to the delegates assembled before me. (*Laud applause.*) It is a pleasant and a very agreeable duty and I consider it a privilege—a great privilege—which has been conferred upon me by my colleagues, of the Madras Congress Reception Committee, who have asked me to offer to you all, the warmest of welcomes. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen., On behalf of the Congress Reception Committee, and on behalf of the citizens of Madras, I welcome you from the bottom of my heart.

Gentlemen, it is a matter of sincere congratulation that this city has been chosen for the meeting of the Congress this year: you may well imagine that Madras

910

ardently coveted the honor, which the sister cities of Bombay and Calcutta have always enjoyed. (*Applause.*)

Many of you have come down from many distant parts of the empire. We hope that your stay here will be comfortable, pleasant and interesting, and that when you have returned home, you will retain a kindly remembrance of your brethren in this far-off part of India.(*Applause.*) It may be that we cannot compete with our Bombay brethren in the kindly care and the generous hospitality with which, gentlemen from this part of the country were received at the first Congress. It may also be that we must despair of being able to imitate the princely character of the reception, which was accorded to those that attended the second Congress, in the 'City of Palaces.' (*Applause.*) But if you are prepared to take the will for the deed,—as I trust you are,—you may rest assured, that we gather you to our bosom with hearts as sympathetic as they are proud. (*Loud cheers.*)

That we should rejoice with pride to receive you, and that you should kindly consent to be our honored guests is, gentlemen, I think, quite natural, when we take into account the forces which have been at work among us, and the environment with which we have been surrounded by the wisdom, justice, and generosity of the British nation. (*Applause*) Contact with such a nation is like the contact of iron with the magnet. It has the inevitable effect of the nation operated upon, being, by insensible degrees, assimilated to the dominant type. Let cavillers at this view shew me the people who, having been taught the lesson of liberty and enlightened statesmanship, did not, in due time, thirst for the

blessings of freedom and good government. (*Hear, hear.*) Let them shew me the community which having been brought within the sphere of liberal education did not wish and strive to secure a status consistent with such culture, and necessitated by such discipline. Let them shew me the land which is covered with a net-work of railways, spanned by telegraphic lines, and studded over with post-offices, but which is not characterised by the dropping off, like autumn leaves, of local prejudices and homebred idiosyncracies. (*Hear, hear.*) Such a people and such a land can exist only in the revelings of a wild imagination,—at any rate, cannot bring myself that they could exist within the pale of that empire, which they beautifully described as the empire on which the sun never sets. (*Hear, hear, and Applause.*) To a multitude of factors, such as these, the Indian community has been subjected, for over fourscore years ; and who can wonder that local differences are getting effaced, and that there is among us an earnest desire to recognise original identity of type and undoubted community of interests, to fraternise and unite. Thus then, it seems to me nothing strange, nothing phenomenal, that I should witness before me, in a vast and most influential assembly, the union of cultivated intelligence and patriotic ardour and the confluence (so to speak) of many different streams of thought and of feeling. I see before me representatives from all parts of India, whose very personal appearance will bring home to the mind of the unprejudiced observer the conviction that, varied as are the castes and creeds and races of India, there is still a powerful bond of union, which makes our hearts vibrate with sympathy and mutual love and a common affection for our mother-country. (*Loud*

and continued applause.) To well-balanced minds, such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the Great, British nation. (*Great applause.*)

Gentlemen, let us not mind too much, or too little what unfriendly or rather mistaken critics may say against us.

Let us stand firm in our conviction that these gatherings are useful and desirable for a multitude of reasons. Let our single aim be to justify ourselves by invariable loyalty, good sense, and moderation in our thoughts, words, and deed. These great qualities we have not to acquire *afresh*. Innumerable antecedent generations have happily bequeathed them to us. Let us retain this inheritance and trustfully place ourselves under the guidance of the great nation, and the great Government, which are providentially in charge of our destinies, and our future will be as satisfactory as it can possibly be.

Now that a splendid Empire has been constructed, completed, and consolidated, now that unbroken peace and order have been established beyond the dreams of Asiatic philosophy, this Congress represents that very factor which is necessary for the further development of India. (*Applause.*)

From all that I have known of Englishmen, during half a century of intimate intercourse with the best of them, I have no hesitation of assuring you that your well-meant offer will not be superciliously rejected. (*Hear, hear.*)

Henceforth, let us, therefore, invariably act on the principle that the various populations of this extensive empire are bound together by a common Government.

913

by common interests and by mutual sympathies. (*Applause.*)

Judged most unsparingly, the worst features of gatherings of this description might be superabundance of enthusiasm and youthful impetuosity. But as a great thinker has said, men learn to run before they learn to walk; they stagger and stumble before they acquire a steady use of their limbs. What is thus true of individuals is equally true of nations; and it is uncharitable to form a forecast of the future from the failings and weaknesses, if any such *should* exist, incidental to a nascent stage. The sentiments appropriate to such a condition of things are sympathy and kindly direction. An attitude of antagonism or of scorn only causes irritation and soreness: and it rouses, not unfrequently, a spirit of recrimination, if not also of answering disdain. This is almost a law of nature, I will, therefore, ask our critics to remember the early history of nations, and to judge in a spirit of charity and magnanimity.

When I ask this of our censors, permit me to advise you to be moderate and forbearing. It is the nature of vaulting ambition to overleap itself. It is the character of renovated youth to be carried away by excessive zeal. Steer clear of such shoals and quicksands. Discuss without prejudice; judge without bias, and submit your proposals with the diffidence that must necessarily mark suggestions that are tentative in their character. Much irritation and retaliation will be avoided if the mutual dependence of the rulers and the ruled is steadily kept in view. With the ruled, it must be a postulate that rulers err from ignorance, and in spite of their efforts to avoid mistakes. By the rulers it must be taken for granted,

that when subjects petition and expostulate it is not in a spirit of disputation or cavilling, much less of disaffection and disloyalty (*Hear, hear*), but only to enlighten those holding sway over them, and, in a peaceful and constitutional manner, to have their wishes understood and their grievances made known. I entreat you to lay to heart these words of caution to all parties concerned—words which I ask you to accept out of regard for my long experience (*applause*), for my age (*applause*) and for my earnest desire to see my countrymen, prosperous and happy.

Gentlemen, there are amongst you many men of distinguished attainments, of high culture, liberal views sound judgment and sincre patriotism. The infirmities of age prevent me from enjoying the honor and discharging the duty of taking an active part in the discussions that you will enter upon. (*Hear, hear.*) Let me, therefore, call upon you to elect from among the multitude of wise and learned and earnest men, that I see around me, a President, whose lead you may follow with perfect confidence, and whose force of character and sincere interest in the true well-being of the country, will lead to your deliberations being directed into such paths, and confined within such limits, as will secure to your conclusions the regard and attentive consideration of all right-minded men. I welcome you once again with a heart overflowing with joy and pride, and wish you "God-speed" in your generous and noble efforts to elevate the political and social condition of our common mother-land. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Proceed then to elect a President: and may the Almighty Disposer of all things grant you that command that success which you so richly deserve. (*Loud applause.*)

Rao Bahadur

R. N. Mudholkar

Rao Bahadur Ranganath Narsing Mudholkar was born at Dhulia in the Deccan on the 16th May 1857. His father Narasing Row Krishna was then Record-Keeper of the District Judge's Court, Khandesh. His grandfather too had served as Mamlatdar in Khandesh. In the days of the Mahratta Empire Mr. Mudholkar's ancestors held the Vakilship of the Mudhol State at the Darwar of the Peshwar. The original home of the family was in the Southern Mahratta Country.

Mr. Mudholkar received his early education at Dhulia, and for a short time at Erandol, which is in the same district of Khandesh, when his father was Sub-Registrar of that place. The reading he was fond of, was story books and history, the history of the Mahrattas in particular. At the age of 10 he was taken by his eldest brother Mr. Balwan Rao to Berar, where he held service in the Educational Department first as Headmaster and then as Deputy Educational Inspector. His English education began there. After three years spent in Berar, young Mudholkar was sent to Dhulia to study in the High School there. He had to give up study for one year on account of serious illness. All the same he was a bright boy almost throughout his whole school course and won prizes for standing first in the examinations. He passed the Matriculation Examination in 1873 from

916

the Dhulia High School. The next year he joined the Elphinstone College in Bombay. He passed the F. A. Examination in 1875 standing pretty high in the list of successful candidates. He lost one year in the B. A. Class, again, owing to illness. He was regarded as one of the bright boys of his time and soon won the good opinion of Principal Wordsworth. In the Scholarship Examination of 1877 he stood first in the list. He also got the prize in the competition for the Ganpatrao Kibe Prize Essay. He passed the B. A. Degree Examination the same year and again stood high among the successful candidates. He however failed to win either of the two prizes for which he was trying having got a few marks less than the winner his friend and rival Mr. Dayaram Gidumal at present District and Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad. Among his other contemporaries at College were such men as Mr. (now the Hon'ble Mr. Justice) N. G. Chandrawarkar Mr. Vishnu Krishna Bhatwadekar, Dewan Bahadur V. M. Samartha, Dewan Bahadur R. V. Sabnis Mr. Vasuder Gopal Bhandarkar and Mr. G. S. Khaparde. Principal Words-worth remarked of him a couple of years after he took his degree, "he early attracted my attention and the expectations which I then formed of him have been fully realised. I have a very high opinion of his intellectual and moral attainments and personally a very sincere regard for him." Soon after he passed his B. A., he was appointed Fellow of the Elphinstone college, and was teaching History, Logic and Political Economy. He passed his L.L. B. Examination in 1880. The High Court Appellate Side Bar in Bombay was even then considerably crowded and Berar in which his family had now become permanent residents afforded greater scope for an

energetic young man and he decided to throw in his lot there. He and his brother-in-law (the late Mr. B. A. Divekar) were the first L. L. B's. who settled to practise in Berar.

He commenced practice in 1881 at Akola and was almost immediately a success at the Bar, having attained within one year a position second only to that of Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) Deorao Vinayak who was then leader. He shifted to Amraoti in 1882 when the Court of the Judicial Commissioner was removed there. And throughout this full period of the quarter of a century he has enjoyed a most lucrative practice being almost all the time at the top of the Bar.

Almost from the commencement of his career he has thrown himself actively into the public life of his province and his country. And it may be mentioned as a remarkable circumstance that even in those early days when men's attention was given rather exclusively to politics, Mr. Mudholkar was busying himself in matters of industrial development and social reform equally with political affairs. It may be true of many of our public men that their interest in matters industrial is of recent growth ; but the reproach could never be levelled at Mr. Mudholkar that he took a narrow or one-sided view of national life. In fact his very first public act in Berar was the establishment, in cooperation with some friends, of the Berar Trading Company, Ltd. He himself acted as its secretary after its start, and the foundations of the prosperity which the Company has enjoyed these 27 years may be said to have been laid by Mr. Mudholkar. The Berar Trading Company was the first of its kind in that part of the

country ; its success has led to the opening of several similar concerns.

The creation of a healthy public opinion on political among other questions engaged Mr. Mudholkar's attention and he felt the necessity for a vigorous and well conducted paper in which public questions would be discussed with informed zeal, restrained enthusiasm and a fearlessness not dissociated from sobriety or respect for authority. The result was the starting of the *Vaidarbha* newspaper which for over sixteen years had rendered useful service to the community. It is a pity that circumstances over which the founders of the paper had no control led to the closing of the *Vaidarbha*. During the years of its existence Mr. Mudholkar contributed the larger number of English articles that appeared in it.

In 1885 he took part in the establishment of the Dufferin Fund in Berar and became one of its first life-members.

Berar which came under British management in 1853 and was governed under a system in which all powers were centered in the District Officer, the commissioner and the Resident afforded little scope for liberal thought or free institutions. But the class of educated men which was rising in numbers, position and influence in the province were naturally anxious to bring its public life on a level with that of the Bombay Presidency with which most of them were connected by various ties. The idea was not confined to one person but to Mr. Mudholkar truly belongs the credit of being the most keen and persevering in the matter.

He was mainly instrumental in the establishment of the Berar Sarwajanik Sabha in the year 1886 and was its Secretary till 1898 along with Mr. M. V. Joshi, the well-known lawyer, patriot and reformer of Berar. Most of the representations on important public questions submitted by the Sabha to Government were drawn up by Mr. Mudholkar. Among these may be mentioned as specially noteworthy the memorials on the separation of the judicial and executive functions in Berar, revision survey and resettlement, agricultural indebtedness and land alienation and the propriety of extending the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act to the rest of India. His personal opinion has always been invited these ten years and more on every legislative measure of importance which came before the Government.

Believing in the importance of developing local institutions and obtaining the redress of local grievances as best calculated to train the general public in administrative matters and in politics he threw himself in Municipal and Provincial work. For eighteen years he served on the Amraoti City Municipality, and has been always foremost in the discussion of provincial questions in the public press and in representations to Government.

Of all the questions which have arisen in Berar during the last thirty years there is none which roused greater popular interest than the question of Revision survey and resettlement of the Land Revenue demand which was taken up in the early nineties. In conformity with the traditions of the Bombay Survey and Settlement Department, proposals for very high enhancements were made by the officer in charge

of the Berar Revision survey. Vigorous protest and well informed critical and sound examination were it was felt urgently demanded. Meetings attended by thousands were held in 1891 and 1892 which were addressed by Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Joshi. They knew however, that the only possibility of obtaining modification in regard to proposed enhancement was to demonstrate the inaccuracy of the premises and the incorrectness of the reasoning on which those proposals were based. And this was done in a masterly document extending over several sheets of printed matter. It was drawn up by Mr. Mudholkar. The Government of India did partially modify the proposals of the survey officer and the local authority.

One of the great questions of internal politics which occupied the attention of the Government in the ninetees was the question of Agricultural indebtedness. The Berar Sarvajanik Sabha was asked to give its opinion on the Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the working of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act and some time later on the note prepared in the Home Department of the Government of India on agricultural indebtedness and land transfer. The Sabha's opinion on the second subject occupies some eighty pages of foolscap. It was drawn up by Mr. Mudholkar. Considerable study of Blue Books and official reports was needed and this was cheerfully undertaken. His position in this matter differs essentially from that generally taken by the capitalists classes and their supporters. The expropriation of the cultivating classes by the money-lending and professional classes is regarded by him as a serious economic, political and social danger, and while disapproving of the

particular measures proposed, he very strongly holds that suitable action for keeping a peasant proprietory class on the land is urgently demanded. He believes more in education, a beneficent land revenue policy and an adequate supply of cheap capital than in restrictive legislation.

There is no Legislative Council for Berar, but it was the practice of the Administration to constitute small committees to which measures proposed to be enacted into law were referred. Mr. Mudholkar was invariably placed on these committees. Laws for Berar are made by Order in Council of the Governor-General of British India in exercise of the powers given by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, Berar not being regarded as an integral part of British India though for all practical purposes except legislation it is treated as such.

It was mainly by Mr. Mudholkar's effort that the anomaly of legislation being made by the Executive Couucil instead of by the Legislative Council as for the rest of the country was brought to the fore. He has been instrumental in raising the question more than once by means of representations to the constituted authorities and of resolutions at the Congress and the Central Provinces and Berar Provincial Conference. He has drawn up an elaborate note in which the legality of the whole procedure is shown to be open to serious question. It is stated that it is engaging the consideration of the Secretary of State. It is an open secret that he has been more than once recommended by the Chief Commissioner for nomination as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council to represent the Central Provinces, but that as Berar is not British India and a

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922

constituent part of the Central Provinces proper, the Government of India felt unable to accept the recommendation of the head of the Local Administration. It is to be hoped that the matter will be satisfactorily settled in connection with the introduction of the constitutional reforms now pending, and that his countrymen will not be deprived of his services in the Supreme Council.

Mr. Mudholkar joined the Indian National Congress in 1888 when its fourth session was held at Allahabad under the presidency of the late ever to be lamented Mr. George Yule. He at once became a prominent member of this great national assembly and has ever since been one of its unceasing and most indefatigable workers. The only Session of the Congress from which he was absent after that year was the eighteenth one held at Ahmedadad in 1902, and this was owing to a great domestic misfortune, the serious illness and death of his eldest daughter, his only child by his first wife. At every other session of the Congress he has been one of the principal speakers and his speeches on such varied subjects as agricultural indebtedness, and land aleination, land settlement and land revenue administration, the economic condition of the people and the finances of the Government, technical education and industrial development, the separation of judicial from executive functions and the powers of the police and the Magistracy, the reform of the Legislative Councils and the reconstitution of the Universities, Sedition Law and the partition of Bengal, will repay perusal as being utterances marked by knowledge sobriety and a sense of responsibility. Mr. Mudholkar was one of the

Congress delegates to England in 1890, and along with his colleagues Babu Surendranath Banerjea and Mr Eardley Norton did his best to bring about the reform of 1892. He, acting with his fellow-Congressmen of Berar invited the Congress to Amraoti in 1897 and laboured hard and devotedly as its Secretary to make it the great success it was in that most difficult of years. Amraoti is the only town in the whole country of its size, population and importance to have dared to hold the Congress. If it did so the credit belongs to no small extent to Mr. Mudholker.

That Congress was held at a time when the murder of Rant and Ayerest had exasperated the Anglo-Indian community and the prosecution and conviction of Mr. Tilak had produced excitement among the Indians. The rigid enforcement of a most drastic plague policy was another danger which threatened the holding of the Congress meeting in Berar. Several representations had to be made to the local Government and the provincial authorities, executive and sanitary, frequent interviews had to be made to remove the objections raised to allow persons coming from or even passing through the plague affected tracts to enter Berar. The situation threw on Mr. Mudholkar and other Berar leaders, unprecedentedly heavy burden. The utmost patience, tact, and conciliation had to be put under requisition to smooth the official opposition without sacrificing principles or yielding any important point.

The failure of the rains in 1896 which brought about a severe famine in the Central Provinces, Northern India and the Deccan produced in Berar also great scarcity and high prices. The influx of people from the affected tracts increased the distress. To

do something for the poor steps were taken by the Amraoti leaders. Selling grain at rates below the market rates and establishing a kitchen for the very poor, unable to work were resolved. The project was initiated by Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. M. V. Joshi and other non-officials and the Commissioner and other European officers heartily accepted it. The Mudholkar brothers and the Joshis—father and son—were the chief organisers and workers. In March 1897 a branch of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund was started in Berar and Mr. Mudholkar and another Indian gentleman were appointed secretaries. This heavy responsibility was undertaken in full knowledge of the fact that the main burden of making arrangements for the Congress lay on his shoulders. The Berar Committee's work was conducted on a scale and with a throughness which were acknowledged by Government. In 1898 the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred in recognition of his work. In 1899-1900 came the greatest famine known to India in modern times when even Gujerat and Berar tracts, which had not known a famine for over a century, were smitten hard. On this occasion also Mr. Mudholkar was to the forefront and was again secretary of the Famine Fund.

The question of framing a constitution for the Congress was pressed upon the attention of that body from 1887 and in 1894 and 1895 even some drafts were prepared. But no scheme was found sufficiently acceptable to even a portion of the delegates and no advance was made. At the Congress of 1898 a sub-committee was appointed with Mr. Mudholkar as secretary to prepare a workable scheme. He set to work almost immediately, prepared a draft, circulated it

to his colleagues, dunned them till they gave a reply and when the Congress met at Lucknow in December 1899 there was drawn up a set of rules which with a few verbal alterations was accepted by the congress.

On the demise of Her late Majesty Queen-Empress Victoria, a movement was started in Berar as elsewhere to raise a suitable memorial to her. Mr. Mudholkar was first informaly consulted and he expressed his readiness to work for it provided it was given the shape of technical or industrial school. The leading officials and non-officials were agreed on the point and thus was originated the work which has just arrived at fruition. It was not all smooth sailing, however. When the attitude of Lord Curzon against the idea of the Queen's All India memorial taking the form of an institution for scienific and technical instruction was made known, a very high officer in that province openly expressed his disbelief in the project resolved upon in Berar. Fortunately his departure soon after removed a chilling influence and the old Berar officials being firm in their loyalty to the scheme it was left in tact. About a lac and twenty five thousand were realised from which after giving ten thousand to All-India Memorial a balance of one lac and fifteen thousand remained. The preparation of a scheme, sufficiently comprehensive and at the same within the means of a small province required great thought and deliberation and generous help from Government was from the first recognised as a *sinequa non*. By the time the committee was able to devise a suitable and practicable scheme Berar was transferred to the Central Provinces. The Chief Commissioner of that territory then was Mr. (Now Sir) J. Hewett, a true friend of India's industrial develop-

926

ment. He promised very liberal help from Government. Mr. Mudholkor went to Bombay and Poona to consult Principal Monie and Dr. Thomson and to personally see what was being done there and how. A scheme was drawn up for the establishment of a Technical Institute for Mechanical Engineering and kindred subjects. But there was to be one more check from the Curzonian Secretariat which for some months made the man who had devoted his days, weeks and months to the scheme pass restless and anxious days and nights. Fortunately Mr. J. Hewett had by that time become Member for Industry and Commerce and Sir Frederick Lely who had succeeded him as Chief Commissioner was good friend of industrial development and he strongly supported the Berar Committee's protest and again sent up their project making only a small alteration to soothe the vanity of the Simla Secretariat. It was sanctioned. Government gave Rs. 30,000 as a contribution to the initial expenditure and has sanctioned an yearly grant up to Rs. 11300 for maintenance expenditure and Rs. 1,300 from Municipalities. Building and workshops are completed and machinery is ordered. Mr. Mudholkar feels a parent's love for this institution. One of the reasons why he did not move to Nagpur after the old Berar Judicial Commissioner's Court was abolished was that he wished to see this institution in full and satisfactory working order before he would take rest or shift anywhere.

The grand effort made in 1891 to hold the Congress seemed to have exhausted all public life of the Central Provinces and for thirteen years there was no public activity even at Nagpur, the capital of the province. When the Congress was held in Berar in 1897 it was hoped that the Central Provinces would actively

cooperate with their neighbour. This however was not done and the leaders of Berar had to make repeated appeals to the leading men of Nagpur to rouse them to action. At last in 1905 the Firt C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference was held at Nagpur in April. This was followed by two sessions. Mr. Mudholkar presided over the Third C. P. and Berar Provincial Conference held at Raipur in 1907. Along with the political conferences, were held the Provincial Industrial Conferences. Mr. Mudholkar presided over the sessions of 1905 and 1906.

His presidential addresses at Raipur and Jubbulpore and his papers on " The Economic Condition of the Indian People " and " Education and Industrial Development" show his grasp of political and industrial questions. He is as keen about social reform as about political and industrial. In fact he is very particular in always pointing out what he calls the unity of our work.

His interest in industrial questions is not merely academic. As mentioned above so far back as 1881-1882 he took the leading part in forming the first Joint-Stock Company in Berar. Four years later we find him co-operating with Rao Bahadur Deorao Vinayak and Mr. Jaikrishna Bagaji of Akola in establishing the first factory in Berar organised and managed by educated Hindus. The first one or two years were years of difficulty and the three leading men had to put up with much ridicule and censure. They had a sweet revenge afterwards when phenomenal profits were reaped year after year and the value of the Company's shares which had dropped to half became fourfold. This concern is now a

combined Spinning and Weaving Mill and a Ginning and Pressing Factory. Some eleven years ago another business was started by these same men which was an Oil Pressing Factory at Akola to which was joined later on a ginnig factory. The factory is under the management of Mr. Mudholkar's brother. Two companies were formed in 1901 for carrying on ginning and pressing operations at Amraoti and a place near there, of which he is one of the largest shareholders and Chairman of the Board of Directors and a third was formed in the Akola District in which he has substantial interest. In several of the industrial concerns started out in his province he contributed his mite—which in some cases was a fairly large amount. Some of these attempts have not succeeded and along with others he lost money. But he is a veritable Micawber and his having burnt his fingers at times has not diminished his zeal for industrial work.

He was offered the Joint-General Secretaryship of of the Congress when it was rendered vacant by the death of Pandit Ajudhia Nath, but his modesty precluded him from seriously thinking of accepting it. Similarly it may be mentioned in passing, he declined the President ship of the Fifth Indian Social Conference held at Nagpur in 1891 which was offered to him by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. In recent years Mr. Mudholkar was twice recommended for the Presidentship of the the Congress by the Bombay Presidency Association. No doubt this signal honour will be conferred on him very soon. It may be added that all these years he has been Berar Secretary of the Congress, and that in the matter of meeting pecuniary obligations the Berar Committee has ever been honourably distinguished

among Congress Committees in India, Mr. Mudholkar himself with Mr. Joshi making large sacrifices for the cause.

Mr. Mudholkar has in his day sustained several bereavements of a very trying character. He lost his father when he was only 20 years old, he lost his first wife in 1892, he lost his daughter, to whom he was singularly attached, in 1902, and he has lost two of his brothers and only recently he lost his nephew—a promising young man who passed LL.B. Examination last year. He is a man of strong attachments and it can be easily imagined what a sore application these ordeals must have been to him.

Presidential speech of the Third Provincial conferencc held at Raipur in 1907.

BROTHER DELEGATES, FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

I am greateful to you for the honour you have done me in electing me President of this Conference and I am very grateful to my friends Dr. Gour and Mr. Dadabhoy for the very kind terms in which they have been pleased to express their appreciation of the humble services which it has fallen to my lot to perform. I value the honour not so much for the dignity which the position accorded by your suffrages carries, but chiefly for the greater scope which it affords for helping the great cause in which you all here and our countrymen in other parts are working (*Cheers*). Grave questions of the vital interest to the Country are loudly calling for solution and are engaging the attention of the Government and the thinking portion of the people. Various views are advanced, different plans proposed and methods suggested in regard to them. Both on

930

account of the importance and nature of the subjects and the zeal evinced in their discussion it is to be expected that this assembly representing the wisdom, knowledge, experience and public spirit of these Provinces (*Hear, hear*), would be called upon to deal with them directly and indirectly. I esteem it a great privilege to be accorded the position of President on such an important occasion.

Gentlemen, we are living in a critical period of our history. A new spirit generated by the contact of two great civilizations, the Western and the Eastern, is moving the people of this vast Continent and rousing them to a sense of national existence and making them alive to their duties and responsibilities, their rights privileges as members of a civilised community and a world-wide Empire. Placed by the inscrutable decree of an all wise Providence in the position of British subjects, welded together by common interests, common objects, common difficulties and common disabilities the people of India have, through the beneficent influence of elevating knowledge, been awakened to the consciousness that they should have the complete status of British citizens. They are stirred by the worthy ambition of being entrusted with their full share of work in the difficult task of Government and their zeal is fired to develop in themselves the requisite physical, mental and moral capacities for this task (Cheers).

Gentlemen, the principle of Swadeshism, which is manifesting itself with such strength for some time past, is an expression of this lofty spirit of duty and dignity (*Hear, hear*) which is spreading amongst the people. It embodies the sentiment of nationalism

or patriotism which is such a potent factor in the progress of the human race. Devotion for the motherland, love for all her children, and burning desire for strengthening their capabilities so that they may labour for the improvement of the human kind and for the faithful observance of the great moral laws which rule the universe, these constitute the essence of the sentiment. (*Cheers*). The duty which it lays on us is to create a strong, robust, hard-working, industrious, sober, thrifty body of citizens capable of enduring the vicissitudes of life and fit to fight its battles. The citizens have to be equipped with the knowledge of the working of the forces of nature, their action and interaction ; and this strength and this knowledge have to be guided and made efficient by moral sense and spiritual faith. In its comprehensive aspect and full significance the Swadeshi principle or, as it might he rendered, the principle of nationalism or patriotism is a message to each nation to qualify itself for the noble purpose of streneously exerting towards the perfection of mankind. (*Hear, hear*). Faith in truth, justice, righteousness and universal love are the bedrock on which its temple is reared. (*Cheers*)

Associated in organised societies in which human units have to live and work, maintenance of peace and order, the establishment of just relations between the different classes and grades of workers, the promotion of co-operation and healthy fellow-feelings amongst them are a prime necessity. Thus it is that politics play such a prominent part in the economy of human race. The questions they deal with have to be approached not in a spirit of apology but as a matter of imperative necessity and high duty.

932

Economic Swadeshism forms a part of this great sphere of work and its importance to the Indian community placed in the situation in which it is by adventious causes cannot be too highly estimated.

Our Congresses, Conferences and Associations in working for political reforms, industrial regeneration and the elimination of unhealthy social practices and institutions are thus discharging not a merely ordinarily useful or necessary function, but are engaged in a most meritorious and holy work. The sacredness of their mission, its intimate connection with the perfection of human society its unison with the laws of God cannot be too often insisted upon or too firmly impressed on our minds. In times of difficulty and trial when the obstacles in our path threaten to overwhelm us, when disappointment makes craven suggestions and when the scoff of the Philistine and the faithless seems to produce an unnerving effects, the consciousness of the loftiness of our purpose and its conformity with the eternal verities will put heart into us, steady our step and brighten our vision. Sustained by it, criticism and opposition instead of damping our zeal or enfeebling on energy would go only to strengthen our resolve and increase our vigour.

Gentlemen, we ought to derive encouragement and support from the progress which our cause is making. It is not very many years ago when the mere mention of political reform roused denunciation and created a storm, and the Congress and its allied institutions were called seditious aud dangerous. The stages of hatred and opposition, of opprobrium and misrepresentation,

of ridicule and contempt through which every movement having any vitality in it has to pass, have been left behind. We are now well amidst the stage of partial concession, and can reasonably hope for complete acceptance before long. The propaganda which was deemed at one time dangerously subversive is now recognised as legitimate. Its exceedingly modest first demand which was characterised as "a leap in the dark" and "a big jump into the unknown" has long been granted and placed on the Statute book. Its further fuller and more thorough-going measures of reform, which were denounced as impossible and revolutionary, are within a measurable distance of at least partial fulfilment. (cheers). The first and most difficult steps have been taken. The principle of a real live representation has been accepted, the justice of the claims of Indians to participate more largely in the higher branches of the administration is not now questioned as it once was; financial control the mere suggestion of which 18 years ago roused viceregal ire is now within sight. (Hear, hear). With the return of the wave of Liberalism in England two years back the number of men of position and influence taking interest in the advancement of the political status of Indians has greately increased. Responsible statesmen are busy considering what further steps towards progress should be taken. Above all in the King-Emperor's message to Parliament the need for early reform is frankly stated. (Hear, hear). But the most notable achievement of the forces of which the National Congress was the first and the most characteristic expression, is the rise of public opinion, the hold which the principle of nationalism is obtaining

in the country, the daily increasing spread of earnestness of purpose and activity of effort (Cheers).

All these are factors which contribute to success and ought to put heart into us. And though a rose coloured optimism, which sees nothing but the pleasant side of a thing, is not desirable, a pessimism which can see the dark side only is equally to be avoided (Hear, hear). A state of thorough contentedness with things as they are is a prelude to stagnation. Some measure of discontent is a necessary incentive to progress (Hear, hear). It is on a judicious admixture of the two that solid and permanent advance depends. Avoiding on one hand the helplessness of fatalism and the stolid complacence of optimism, we have to avoid on the other the impatience and haste, which want of sufficient thought and want of sufficient experience are apt to produce. Such success as our agitation is capable of achieving ought to serve as an inspiration and incentive to further efforts. We must utilise our failures to strengthen our purpose and to fix our resolve. Judged in this light our present position is one for hopefulness and expectation. Political progress is of necessity very slow. Even in a homogeneous community no individual or body, possessing power, willingly or easily agrees or submits to part with any portion of it. In the case of India, there are the additional difficulties caused by the difference of race and the antagonism of interests due to the fact of an outside rule. As practical politicians and as persons endowed with common sense we must make allowances for all these various considerations and not take up an attitude which ignores them. Similarly, the frame of mind which entertains no confidence

in the sence of justice, wise statesmanship or far-sighted prudence of the British nation is emphatically to be deprecated. Such distrust and low estimate is not, in the first place, correct and justifiable, and, in the second place, serves no useful purpose and only increases our difficulties by creating ill-will and friction. It would be untrue to pretend that we are satisfied with our lot and that we are content with a system, a form of Government, in which sufficient scope is not afforded to us to rise to the height of our stature. It would be equally unwise to entertain visions which are incapable of accomplishment. We must look facts fully in the face and adjust our ideals, our objects and our methods accordingly. Whatever regeneration for India is possible lies only through the establishment of solidarity of opinions and sentiments among the differnt races, castes and creeds inhabiting this vast country. It is by the harmonising of the various interests which exist that our elevation can take place. The educated classes who are the natural leaders of the people must fully percieve this. They must ever bear in mind the utter folly of clannish or parochial aims. It is in the consolidation of an Indian nation including in it all the diverse communities inhabiting this continent or holding interests therein that they ought to put their great trust and faith.

Self-Government is the goal of our political ambition, because it is only an autonomous nation which can afford scope and supply facilities for the development of those intellectual powers and that moral and spiritual fervour which must be possessed by its citizens before they can take their share in the evolution of the human race. Such autonomy for India is not beyond

the range of practical politics when some of the wisest and best men of England admit its justice and contemplate its grant. It is not an impossible or impracticable claim which we advance. It is not merely speculative considerations or abstract principles on which we rely. We take our stand on the firm ground of statutory rights and royal pledges (Hear, hear). The combined wisdom of the three Estates of the British realm laid down in 1833:—

> "That no native of the said territories (India) nor "any natural born subject of His Majesty "resident therein shall by reason only of his "religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or "any of them be disabled from holding any "place, office or emolument under the said "Government." (Act 3 and 4 William 4, C. 85, S. 87). (Hear, hear).

Her late gracious Majesty Queen-Empress Victoria (Hear, hear), of revered memory in the Proclamation which she issued in November, 1858, gave assurances which more than anything else restored tranquillity and secured peace. Says that Proclamation:—

> "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of "our Indian territories by the same obliga- "tions of duty which bind us to all our other "subjects; and these obligations by the bless- "ing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and "conscientiously fulfil. × × ×. And it is "our further will, that, so far as may be, our "subjects of whatever race or creed, be fully "and impartially admitted to offices in our "service and the duties of which they may be "qualified by their education, ability and "integrity to discharge." (Hear, hear).

These are not merely empty words vainly uttered. They represent the essence of wise and far-sighted statesmanship. They were issued after mature deliberation. They are solemn promises made in the full knowledge of their sanctity. Those who scoff at them or try to explain them away show the gravest disrespect to the august Sovereign from whom they came in the fulness of her heart.

Of these attempts to read away Her late Majesty's Proclamation Lord Ripon said on a memorable occasion in the Viceregal Legislative Council. "The document is not a treaty. It is not a diplomatic instrument. It is a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to which it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir Fitz James Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honor of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England, it would do more, than any thing else could possibly do, to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence. Because that power and that influence rest more upon the conviction of our good faith than upon any other foundation, aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers and the reputation of our arms." (Hear, hear).

I would give one more quotation, and this time from a conservative Viceroy. Lord Lytton said on 1st January, 1877, at the Delhi Durbar Assemblage :— "But you, the natives of India, whatever your race, and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share

largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian Statesmen and by the Legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India, as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

The latest attempt to nullify the Proclamation was made by Lord Curzon (Shame.) It has received the severe rebuke it deserved from no less a personage than Mr. John Morley who said: "I do not believe that the Ministers who advised Queen Victoria in framing one of the most memorable documents in all our history meant those words "*so far as may be*" to be construed in a narrow, liberal, restricted or pettifogging sense. I do not believe that Parliament ever intended this promise of the Queen should be construed in any but a liberal and generous sense." He called the "promise" itself "as wise and politic as it was just." (Hear, hear).

I have preferred to rest our claim to the fullest rights of British citizenship more on legal and constitutional grounds than on ethical principles, not because I consider for a moment that these should be or can be ignored or left out of account. Far from thinking so I firmly believe that no individual, no institution, no community, no nation, no empire may lose sight of them with impunity. Gentlemen, the Divine Law is writ large in history. The immutable principles of justice and righteousness govern the universe. It is righteousness which exalteth a nation. (Hear, hear).

Disregard of truth, honesty and love, whatever temporary advantages it may secure, is a surer precursor of degeneracy and fall. It is because the declarations, contained in the Statute of 1833 and in the Queen's Proclamation, proceed on a recognition of the principles that they have a permanent value and carry high authority (Cheers).

At the same time it must be ever borne in mind that the obligation to obey the moral law is mutual. The governed as well as the Governors, the people as much as the repositaries of authority are bound to obey it. The existence, safety, and prosperity of both depend upon the fulfilment of this condition.

Our view of politics, of the place it should occupy in our esteem, of the objects which are to be achieved through it, depends—like several others—upon our ideal of existence, upon the doctrines we hold about the purpose of life. If individual happiness, personal pleasures and self-aggrandisement are to be regarded as the be-all and the end-all of human life then politics can be nothing but a game of force, fraud and chicanery tempered only by the fear that two can play at it. But to all those whose faith is deep and firm in the Divine ordinance or those who steady their faltering steps with the worship of an ideal humanity, it is a department of religion itself. It is as much under the domain of the moral law as individual conduct, family life and neighbourly relations (Cheers).

Equality of treatment to all, equality before law of all, equal opportunities to all, favouritism to none are basis of a permanent empire. (Cheers). The interests of England and India alike require the scrupulous observance of these principles.

The attainment of our ideal can, we recognise, come only in the course of time. But the juncture has certainly arrived when a real and substantial advance on the small beginning inaugurated 15 years ago should be made. It is in the power of the Government, by giving due effect to the frank, generous and wisely statesmanlike policy solemnly laid down in 1833 and 1858, to give a living and substantial representation to the people, and thereby confirm them in loyalty and attachment to the British rule (Hear, hear). The noble instincts of the great sovereign who rules this empire, and the high character and liberal sympathies of the statesmen who wield power in the present ministry, encourage the hope that what Macaulay called "the path of honour and of duty" would be followed. Gentlemen, in this connection allow me to read a portion of the Viceroy's speech which appears in the *Statesman* of Calcutta of yesterday (28-3-07) to hand this morning. In the course of his observations *anent* the Budget his lordship delivered himself thus with reference to *The New India*:—

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale tempts me to foreshadow the future. I am afraid at present I can only do so faintly. I recognise with him that politically India is in a transition state, that new and just aspirations are springing up amongst its people which the ruling power must be prepared not only to meet but to assist. A change is rapidly passing over the land and we cannot afford to dally. And to my mind nothing would be more unfortunate for India than that the Government of India should fail to recognise the signs of the times. I have deemed it all-important that the initiative of possible reforms should emanate

from us. I have felt that nothing would be more mischievous to British Administration in India in the future than a belief that its Government had acted on no conviction of their own, but simply in submission to agitation in this country and in accordance with instructions conveyed to them from Home. If there has been misconception as to this, I hope I may be allowed this opportunity of correcting it. The story, as far as I can tell it at present, is simply this, that last autumn I appointed a Committee of my Council to consider the possibility of a development of administrative machinery in accordance with the new conditions we were called upon to face. The Committee's report was considered by my Council, and a despatch expressing the views of my colleagues and myself has been forwarded to the Secretary of State. What I would impress upon you is that this move in advance has emanated entirely from the Government of India, and that we are justly entitled to deny any accusation of "an inadequate appreciation of the realities of the present situation." We have now to await the reply of the Secretary of State, and there is no intention that any legislation should be undertaken before the public in India and at Home have had ample opportunity for an expression of opinion on the proposals we have placed before him, I can assure all those who are interested in this great question that the despatch we have recently addressed to Mr. Morley is fraught with great possibilities, and I earnestly trust that the suggestions it contains may go far towards satisfying the pressing requirements of the Indian Empire.

But we have to remember, gentlemen, that our advance depends mainly on ourselves. Nations by

942

themselves are made. Representative Government, to be successful, requires in the electors the capacity to exercise the rights asked for and the willingness and readiness to make the requisite sacrifices for their exercise. Keen interests in public affairs insistence on their rights, and readiness to spend their time and money in vindicating them are necessary. We must have union—practically perfect union among the Indians. (Hear, hear). We must make ourselves fit for the high estate which we claim. We must be selfreliant, manly and just. (Cheers). A lofty ideal and a noble purpose must guide our footsteps in the march towards the promised land. Taught in the school of adversity we must turn our difficulties to account by making them subserve the increase of our strength. Undaunted by obstacles we must combine patience with a firm resolve. (Cheers).

Countrymen, I have dealt at some length on matters of general principles and national import for two reasons. In the first place, we here, in the Provincial Conference, seek to apply to Provincial questions, the policy accepted by us as proper and suitable in matters of national concern. And, in the second place, in the animated discussions that are going on around us and in the apparently conflicting views that are advanced from various sides a statement of our position in clear terms is serviceable for showing that after all there is no real divergence in the so-called opposing schools.

Before I proceed to submit my observations on our Provincial matters, there are two events which recently happened to which I must draw your attention. One is the visit of His Majesty the Amir of Afganistan (Hear, hear), to this country, and the other the Silver Jubilee of the accession to the Baroda throne of

His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Maharaj Gaikwad. (Loud, applause). Though the Amir could not find it possible or convenient to come into greater personal contact with the non-official Indians—Mahomedans, Hindoos or Parsees—it is obvious that he has an enlightened appreciation of the actualities of the situation, and evidently considers that both on principle and on grounds of common interests the Mahomedans and Hindoos ought to live on terms of fellow-ship and mutual esteem and to eschew all differences. (Hear, hear).

The Silver Jubilee of His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Maharaja's reign is an event which has given satisfaction and pleasure not only to his subjects but to all Indians—educated Indians particularly. (Hear, hear). The best and most capable of the Indian Ruling Chiefs, there is no other Prince whose name arouses, outside his state, any such enthusiasm, respect, admiration and pride as his. A prince of wide reading and deep culture, his enlightened administration, his devotion to work, his high conception of duty are on a par with the policy he has inaugurated of developing the material resources of his State and raising the intellectual, moral and political condition of his subjects. (Hear, hear). Our best wishes go to him (Hear, hear), and we pray to the Almighty to grant long life and strength of purpose to such a prince to carry out his noble mission. (Loud and tremendous applause).

Passing to our local questions, the first and foremost which claims our consideration is the claim of the united territory of the Central Provinces and Berar to be accorded its due share in the administration of its affairs. We join in the prayer which has gone from

all India about the expansion of the Supreme Legislative Council, (Hear, hear) and a larger introduction of the elective principle in its constitution. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, while admitting the necessity of a strong central Government, we believe that its efficiency and capability for doing good will be enhanced by enlisting in the work of administration a larger measure of co-operation from the elected representatives of the people. (Cheers).

But it is on more important considerations than oiling the wheels of administration or increasing their speed, that the claim which we advance for thoroughly representative Legislative Councils is based, and we must take care to emphasize those higher grounds. An autocratic form of government, even if there is a succession of kings like King Rama, is, from its very nature, bound to produce degeneration and decay. It is only through proper exercise that our organs or faculties can be developed, or even so much as kept in a normally healthy condition. In these days when communal existence and progress depend upon national efficiency, it is of greater importance to see whether any given institution would stimulate national cohesion and national strength rather than whether it would add to the comforts and pleasures of life. In the language of the Resolutions of 1882 of the Government of India on Local Self-Government, the expansion of the Councils is valuable as " a means of popular and political education," which would enable our people to successfully work such form of Representative Government as is established or is being established in the other self-governing parts of the British Empire.

In such an expanded Council there should be at least twenty four elected members and our united

territory should have the right of sending at least three members. (Hear, hear).

In one respect, and that is a most important one, the claim of the Central Provinces to have due representation on the Viceregal Council is higher than that of the other provinces of British India. (Cheers). These other provinces have their own Provincial Legislative Councils where all local measures are enacted and where the Provincial Budget is discussed and criticised. Until a similar body is created for this province and while the number of members in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General continues what it is at present, it would be only fair that it should have two non-official elected representatives in that Council. As a matter of fact our position is much more unsatisfactory than that of the other provinces. Only on one occasion, since the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils in 1893, was the appointment of a Central Provinces representative based on the elective principle. For ten years the appointments were made by Government without ascertaining the opinions of the District Councils and the Municipalities as was required by the Rules. Gentlemen, it is not questioned that the persons who were appointed were capable and good men, deserving the honour; but the omission to consult public opinion remains all the same. In 1905 there was a retrogression, and that year there was no non-official member for the C. P. In 1906 a non-official member was reappointed, but there was again an ignoring of the electorate entitled to be consulted. We have nothing to complain against the choice made, and in criticising the appointment we express no want of

confidence in our distinguished countryman and respected friend the Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Chitnavis. (Cheers). Gentlemen, this is not a question of individuals. It is an important principle which is at stake, and we shall be failing in our duty if we did not record our protest against the persistent disregard of a vital principle. It is sincerly hoped that pending the introduction of the larger reforms we pray for, or those, which, judging by what has appeared in the public press, seems to be in contemplation, the Government will give effect to the Rule that the appointment of the C. P. representative should be made in conformity with the opinions of the District Councils and the Municipal Committees.

Even more important than the reform advocated in regard to our representation on the Supreme Legislative Council is the necessity, which I submit exists, of the creation of a Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar (Hear, hear). This combined territory has an area of 99,376 square miles of purely British territory or including native states 1,18,874 square miles. There are 113 towns and 42,987 villages with a total population of 12,783,500. The land revenue and rates in 1905 amounted to Rs. 1,87,29,721. There are large forest tracts and mineral fields which are just opened. The province of Berar and the western portion of the Nagpur Division constitute the most important Cotton producing tract in the country. The number of factories in this area is next to that in the Bombay Presidency alone and the volume of trade is among the largest outside the Presidency towns and the great shipping ports. Gentlemen, the time has certainly come when this important territory, showing so much agricultural, mining, and

industrial activity and possessing such vast potentialities, should have an administration which is more in consonance with advanced ideas than the present one (Cheers). If provincial Legislative Councils were needed elsewhere they are equally needed for our Province. (Hear, hear). Overcentralisation is the weak heel of Indian administration. Gentlemen, this is not the view only of us—Congressmen or non-officials—but high administrators, with years of experience behind them, have loudly been calling for Devolution. It is anamalous that in the application of our provincial finances we have not so much as an opportunity of knowing what dispositions are proposed to be made and the principles on which they are made. While important public interests are unprovided for or only inadequately provided, there has been a multiplication of departments and the creation of posts, the necessity of which is not quite apparent to the uninitiated mind. I think, Gentleman, that we should, with all the earnestness we possess and all the arguments we can command, move the Government to establish a local Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar, in which each district and each of the large towns with a population of 25000 and over, should have one representative ; such Council should have power not only to discuss the budget, but also to vote upon it. The Local Government should have the power of appointing by nomination as many members as there would be elected representatives. The head of the administration would be Ex-Officio member and President and should be invested with the power of veto. I venture to submit that some such system is urgently needed to create a unity of interests and aims between the Government and the people. There would be little chance of Government being put in a position of continuous minority. It

948

would have to be an extremely illadvised measure, against which the nominated members—in all probability officers of Government—would join their forces with those of the elected members. The power of veto would remove the last vestige of any danger to the administration from any imprudent act of the Council.

Gentlemen, I have little doubt that if the Government are pleased to take action on some such plan as has been advocated above they will before long find out that they have adopted the wisest, the safest and the most honourable course open to them, and that it would conduce as much to strengthen the position and protect the interest of Government as to meet popular wishes and secure popular advancement. No sane or responsible public man is or can be in sympathy with the forces of disorder or anarchy, if any such exist at all in India, which I greatly doubt. Let the Government only trust the people and they will find that every man who has any stake in the country or has a character to maintain will stand firmly by it. (Hear, hear).

The association of the people in the practical work of administration needs to be developed further. Below the Supreme Council and the Provincial Council there should come District Advisory Boards. The reform here will in one respect be along existing lines. The powers, functions and resources of the District Boards and Municipal Committees should be increased. Joint Committees of these rural and urban bodies should be created, and these should discharge, in regard to District matters, the functions which the Supreme and Provincial Councils wield in imperial or provincial matters.

In advocating the inauguration of these various reforms we proceed on the tacit assumption that Berar will be given the same treatment as those parts of the Central Provinces which are included in British India, (Hear hear), as the term is generally *understood*. The claim of Berar is now engaging the attention of the Government, and there are indications which warrant the hope that its justness is recognised. That Province is now held on a permanent tenure by the Crown, and as such is as much a part of British Dominions as territories acquired by conquest or cession. It would be only meet and proper that the administration should, in every respect, be conducted on those principles which are accepted as just and necessary for British India. (Cheers). I had on other occasions to go pretty fully into this question. But as its importance and its intimate connexion with the well being and progress of nearly three milions of people required that I should bring it before you in my observations, I have given here a bare indication of the gist of the argument.

The next question, Brother delegates, to which I should draw your attention is the separation of Judicial from Executive functions. After the discussion that has been going on for years and the weighty pronouncement made by eminent Englishmen with Indian experience, one would have thought that an elaborate discussion was not needed. Lord Dufferin in his epigrammatic style called it a "counsel of perfection." But though 19 years have passed since then the establishment of this system, universally admitted to be just and sound in principle, is as remote as ever. It is conceded by all the upholders of the existing

system that it is objectionable on principle and mischievous in practice, that it is not good that the same officer, who makes a departmental enquiry or directs a Police investigation, and after going through the papers of these preliminary enquiries directs a prosecution, should himself act as Judge in the cause. Except in some few regrettable cases the magistrates are, it ought to be emphatically stated, upright and honourable men, swayed only by the consideration of doing what appears to them justice. But it is not at all easy for ordinary human nature to divest itself of the one-sided view created by *exparte* statements and proceedings held *in camera*. The bug bear of " prestige " is put most in requisition for defending the present system. What that means it is not difficult to find out. It is not the prestige of the Government as such which will suffer. There is absolutely no danger that the collection of the land revenue, the local cesses, the income tax, the punctual realisation of every kind of income direct or indirect, will be affected in the slightest degree. All that would happen would be that instead of the respect and awe, which the possession of great authority produces in the minds of the common District people, being all bestowed on the Collector-Magistrate it will be divided between the Collector and the District Magistrate if separation of duties takes place ! This is all that would happen.

As to the plea of increase of expenditure, it has to be pointed out that for more provinces than one it has been shown that it would not be necessary to make any appreciable increase in the total number of officers employed. In our own province—the C.P. and Berar—there were in 1905, 86,115 original criminal cases, of which

some 1800 were miscellaneous. Out of these 26·1 per cent. cases, *i. e.*, a little above a fourth, were tried and disposed of by Honorary Magistrates sitting singly or by Benches of Magistrates and 72·7 by stipendiary subordinate Magistrates. The Civil list shows 59 Assistant Commissioners, 80 Extra-Assistant Commissioners and 76 Tahsildars. It is not at all difficult to so distribute work and allot officers as to make available a sufficient number of them for purely criminal work and still leave an adequate staff for attending to revenue and other executive and miscellaneous matters. If the principle of Devolution is given a properly due scope, much of the work done at present by executive officers will be done by District Boards and Municipalities. There is thus no reason to fear that any additional taxation will have to be resorted to for carrying out this reform. But even if the case were otherwise, and it was only by making a large increase, in expenditure that the separation of judicial from Executive functions could be carried out, it would have to be undertaken all the same (Hear, hear). The purity of justice and the confidence of the people in our judicial tribunals are objects of sufficient importance to justify this pecuniary sacrifice (Cheers).

The important question of Education demands our attention next. Of grave moment to all nations, its significance to the Indian is incalculable. It is the one remedy for all our ills, our spiritual and moral degeneracy, our deep widespread poverty and low industrial life, our political degradation and social disruption. The work which has to be done is overwhelmingly great. Of the total male school-going population of India 19 per cent. receive instruction, and of the girls only 2·2 per cent. Only one child out of 11 children

of school-going age goes to school, and out of 10 children who attend school only 1 is a girl! In these provinces 17·5 per cent. of the boys and 1·8 per cent. of girls are shown as attending school. The census figures for the Central Provinces and Berar show how great is still the prevalence of ignorance. In the C. P. out of a total population of 1,1873,000 there were 3,27,500 or 2·7 per cent. literate. In Berar out of a total population of 27,54,000 only 1,23,300 or 4·5 per cent. were literate. Let us see how matters stand in the progressive countries. In Japan 91 per cent. of the boys and 68 per cent. of the girls in the country receive education (Hear, hear). For 14,580 cities, towns and villages Japan has 30,420 schools, while in India for 5,74,006 cities, towns and villages there are only 1,04,622 schools. In Germany among 1,39,855 recruits raised for the army in the year 1875 only 3,311 or 23·7 per thousand were found illiterate. In 1898 the figures were 2,52,382 total recruits of whom only 173 or 7 men out of ten thousand were returned as unable to read and write. Gentlemen, I have no wish to pile statistics before you and try your patience by reading columns of figures. Impressed as Government and the people are of the backward condition of the greater portion of the masses in this country, they have frankly to recognise that nothing short of bold steps like those taken by Japan will meet the situation which has arisen (Hear, hear). Sacrifices are demanded of the Government and of the people, and I hope they will rise equal to the occasion. There must be universally primary education. This means that it should be compulsory and should be free. In most of the European countries and in Japan elementary education extending over a period of about 4

years is compulsory and further education up to the age of 14 is practically enforced during a portion of the day. It is a subject of great satisfaction that the Government are moving in this matter. We must congratulate and thank the Government of India for the proposal to abolish fees in primary schools (Hear, hear). But as I have said, free primary education must be followed very soon after by the other measure *viz.*, to make it obligatory on every parent and guardian to send, his child or ward to some school. It is not primary education alone which demands our attention. Secondary education, Higher education, Technical education in all its branches, all require far greater facilities than exist at present. Higher education is distrusted by some persons and the educational policy followed in the C. P. till very recently was not sufficiently liberal. We trust that the keener appreciation of the responsibility of Government will continue to be entertained. The number of High Schools should be increased. A fully equipped Arts College is wanted at Nagpur. There is no College for medicine, nor for Civil Engineering. For scientific and technical education the provision made in the Nagpur and Amraoti Victoria Technical Institutes are sufficient only as a beginning. Concurrently with the increase in the number of institutions the methods also require revision. The present system is based on ideals which the countries, from which our Government borrowed them, have thoroughly revised and changed. Beginning with the Primary Schools—and especially in the Primary Schools—the aim of the curriculum and of the teaching staff should be to train the faculties of observation and experimenting, to bring the pupils into contact with objects and facts, to give to them such

instruction as will prove of practical value to them in their life's work. Moral education and the development of character must be attended to. The present textbooks are unsatisfactory. All that we ask in regard to education is that the British Government in India should follow the ideals, objects and methods which have, after full discussion, been accepted as proper for public schools in England (Cheers).

The next subject I propose to discuss is one which is vitally concerned with the material well-being of the masses. In the Central Provinces over 70 per cent. and in Berar over 75 per cent. of the population are dependent upon agriculture. The one industry which holds out some promise of a better future to us—the cotton manufacturing industry—is itself dependent upon land. There is no question which rouses greater interest amongst villagers than the subject of the relative rights of the Government, of the owners of lands, and of the various tenure holders. Most of us in this hall own plots large or small in size. It is thus natural if we should devote special attention to this question Gentlemen, it is a long-standing complaint of the land-holding and cultivating classes that they have always to bear more than their fair share of the burden of the State expenditure, and that they are often crushed under the weight which is placed on them. It is not possible, Gentlemen, to take even a cursory view of the curious —of the fatefully shifting—policy followed by government towards the landed classes. Whenever the occurrence of a great calamity like famines pricked the national conscience or when the presence of a grave catastrophe like the mutiny counselled the adoption of a policy of conciliation and sympathy, the Government have in the most unreserved terms, admitted the

wisdom of granting to the Indian landholder fixity of tenure and permanence in the revenue demand. Secretaries of Land State, Royal or Government Commissions, Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Councillors and other high officers have acknowledged the harm which these periodical revisions of the land revenue demand produce. There is nothing more unsettling than the so-called Settlements. The harassing nature of the operations, the door they open to corrupt or oppressive practices, the arbitrary enhancement they bring about, are described in vivid colours by men like Sir Auckland Colvin, Mr. Carpenter and others, with a life's experience of Indian land tenures. In 1862 and 1865 the Secretary of State sanctioned Lord Canning's scheme for the permanent settlement of the land revenue demand wherever certain conditions were found to exist or came into existence. In the C. P. the Chief Commissioner Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Temple placing full confidence in the declared intentions of Government assured the people that it was recommended that in the case of those landholders who would effect substantial improvements in their property, the assessments would be revised with a view to limitations being placed upon them in perpetuity. In the revision which was made at the expiry of the settlement effected in Sir Richard Temple's time the Government revenue demand on several of these estates was enhanced 300, 400, 500 per cent., and I have seen in some places 1500 per cent (!), and instead of the perpetuity promised, the duration of the revised assessments was limited in some cases to 16 or even 12 years (Shame). Gentlemen, the history of the land revenue limitation question affords an object lesson of how a measure dictated alike by statesmanship and by humanity can first be obstructed and then

rendered nugatory by appealing to pseudo-scientific shibboleths and the needs of an impecunious exchequer. The upholders of the doctrine of the unearned increment finding it difficult to meet the broad-minded and wise considerations urged by Colonel Baird Smith's Commission and the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W.P., which were amplified and emphasised by Lord Canning, hit upon the expedient of suggesting "conditions" and "provisoes." They succeeded in gaining the time they wanted and by 1882-83 they so far achieved their object that even a Viceroy like Lord Ripon had to say that a permanent settlement, pure and simple, was out of the question. But anxious as that generous-minded statesman was to bring some real alleviation to the lot of the landholder and the cultivator, his government hit upon a plan which would have given a modified form of permanent settlement. There was to be a period of finality fixed for each province after which there was to be no general re-survey or reclassification and the assessment imposed was to be deemed correct and proper. In future enhancements were to be allowable only on three grounds:— (*a*) increase of cultivation; (*b*) improvements effected at the cost of the State, and (*c*) increase of prices.

Gentlemen, this was an eminently reasonable and fair compromise. Nay, it was the most unexceptionable way of placing the settlement system on a just and equitable basis even from the standpoint of the "unearned increment theory." The principles laid down in Lord Ripon's Resolution were accepted by all the local governments and it was hoped that the controversy was at an end and that the people would no longer be subjected to the greed of a heartless political economy, which is as unsound in principle as it is

inapplicable in practice. But these hopes were short-lived. Madras, the crushing nature of the land revenue system of which has been demonstartad by late Mr. Alexander Rogers (for several years Revenue Councillor to the Governor of Bombay), first quietly raised a difficulty about giving statutory sanction to the principles laid down by the Government of India, and thereupon the Secretary of State disallowed the proposal of the Government of India. The principle, however, was not questioned. A few years more and even that consummation is attained. And now the Resolution of 1902 has given short shrift to the just and equitable canons which the Government of India wisely laid down in 1888. Gentlemen, it is not possible to enter into a discussion of the subject here. All I would do is to point out that the necessity of placing a limitation in perpetuity on arbitrary and crushing enhancements is admitted by all the best, the fairest, most generous-minded of statesmen and administrators, that the Resolution of 1888 emanated from a Government which contained Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer) as Finance Minister, and that it was accepted by local governments and administrations presided over by expectionally capable and experienced men. It is also very easy to show that the position taken up in Lord Curzon's Resolution is illogical and is indicative of confusion of ideas. Gentlemen, there is the great fact which has to be faced. Every man—official or non-official—who is not grossly ignorant or grossly callous, admits the intense and widespread poverty of the masses in India. The increase of the indebtedness of the agricultural classes is causing anxiety to Government. Measures like the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, the Punjab Land Alienation Act and the new sections introduced in the Bombay

Land Revenue Code in 1901 are so many confessions, which admit the gravity of the situation. If the present system was satisfactory and the ryot was prospering everywhere, why are measures like these placed on the statute book? It is admitted that the condition of the landholding and cultivating classes is lamentably bad and that exceptional legislation is wanted. But these are mere palliatives; they merely treat the symptoms. The root of the disease is untouched.

Gentlemen, administrators holding the highest places, Commissions, the majority of which were officers of Government, have been forced to admit that "to the revenue system must in candour be attributed the indebtedness of the ryot in no small measure." The position, Gentlemen, is this. Both in the Zemindari and Ryotwari tracts the assessment is based on too high estimates of the capacity of the soil or the estate. It proceeds on assumptions which in the majority of cases turn out to be incorrect in fact; enhancements are effected on unsound principles, the attempt everywhere being to bring in as large an addition to the revenue as possible. Whether the year is good, bad or indifferent the last pice is too often realised from the ryot! Even in the year of the last great famine, when over five lakhs of people out of a total population of twenty seven and half lakhs were on relief works in Berar, in several Taluks 95 per cent of the revenue was collected (cries of shame). A high Government officer, in explaining the abnormal increase of transfers of immoveable property by mortgage or sale had to regretfully admit that a large number of them had been effected or paying the Government land revenue demand. (Loud cries of shame) Gentlemen, lakhs and lakhs have been spent over the Survey and

Settlement Departments. The data accumulated in regard to the areas and capacities of various estates are sufficiently full and voluminous. Out of sheer mercy for the unfortunate land-owner and tenure-holder Government will be pleased to give up the idea of an impossibly perfect estimation and to save him from the harassing disturbances of these periodical enquires. With due deference to the authors of the Resolution of 1902 we would ask Government to see that the position taken up in that Resolution is not sound. If general prosperity does not bring about a rise in prices what benefit has the land-holder received for which he can, as a land-holder, be called upon for increased contribution? If justice and equity are to determine the necessity and propriety of an enhancement, then every legal and proper ground on which it can be asked is included in the three heads laid down in Lord Ripon's Resolution.

Gentlemen what makes these settlement operations unsatisfactory is their one-sided character. The Government determine not only the general policy on which the land revenue demand is to be based but the capacity of the soil, the value of an estate or field, its future capabilities, the profits existing and prospective, the general advance of the Taluk or District during the currency of the expiring settlement and the general rise of prices; all these are to be judged by the settlement officer. The land-holders have—in the Ryotwari tracts at any rate and, I believe, in the Zemindari tracts also—no means of knowing what the views of this personage are till after the whole thing is settled. Only once were we in Berar given the opportunity of knowing the recommendations of that officer and the reasons given by him in support

of them. On that occasion it was demonstrated that a great part of the data on which the report was based was incorrect, that the reasoning was defective and that the conclusions were open to serious question. The Government of India modified the proposals which had been made on those data. We did not get a second opportunity of making similar representations in regard to the revision settlement of the other parts of Berar though we made repeated applications.

Now, Gentlemen, what we might fairly ask Government is why should there be this investigation and determination behind the back of the ryot, and secondly why should not these orders be liable to be questioned in a court of law? When Bombay Act 1 of 1865 was passed it was stated by the member of Government in charge of the Bill that the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts was not taken away by any of its provisions. During the ten years which followed there arose a number of cases where the action of the department was questioned (I should hardly think questioned successfully) and could not be supported. From 1876 the Indian Statute Book is graced with the provisions which oust the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of Law in the most important revenue matters. Gentlemen, it is impossible to approve of this distrust by the Government of the courts established by it and presided over by judges selected by it. Would it not be more consonant with fairness to allow the actions of the settlement department to be examined freely in the open atmosphere, the broad sunshine and light of a Court of justice?

The case we have got is a very strong one. But we have been till now worsted in the fight. Instead of gaining ground we have been steadily losing it.

We must not, however, lose heart or give up our rulers, and not lack in our efforts till we have succeeded in gaining our object. (Hear, hear).

Gentlemen, there are numerous other wants and grievances of the people which deserve to be taken up by our Conference and placed before the Government for redress. It is not possible to deal with them in one address, nor can they be considered at any one sitting of the Conference. Some of them will be dealt with by the resolutions which will be placed before you, others we must leave for future occasions.

I think it my duty, however, to refer to one more matter to which I made a passing reference in the opening portion of my address. With all the natural advantages which India possesses, in spite of the general fertility of her soil, the suitability of the climate for purposes of production of wealth, the vastness of the mineral resources, and the peaceful, sober, industrious and thrifty character of the people, there is deep widespread poverty in the land. This poverty has justly been attributed to the decadence of our old industrial system and to the bulk of the population being thrown on land. The First Famine Commission, which sat 28 years ago, pointed out that this low industrial condition was a powerful contributory cause of the calamities which followed a failure of rains, and they suggested the adoption of steps for promoting the establishment of new industries and for the revival of old ones. Gentlemen, what is true of India generally applies also to these provinces.

For the creation of a sound industrial system, which will by its flourishing condition afford profitable

962

employment to large sections of our people, two things are first wanted; (1) Capital, and (2) Technical and Scientific knowledge and skill. Newly established industries, however, demand tender nurture and special care like infants. The self-governing countries supply such special care and nurture by a well regulated system of protective tariffs and bounties. These methods are not favoured by the prevailing economic policy of the British Government. But it is quite in our power to give such protection ourselves to the products of our indigenous manufactures. (Hear hear.). We can, by resolving to use Indian articles when these can be had, and by giving preference to them over foreign ones, even thou h the cost might be higher, afford to our struggling nascent industries the help and succour which they require in their childhood (Hear, hear.) It is a matter for congratulation that the Government also are moving in the matter and have adopted a sympathetic attitude towards indigenous articles. (Cheers.) But the main task is ours, the main responsibility is ours, and it is we who must put our shoulders to the wheel. The movement for the encouragement of Swadeshi articles has over and above its objective results a very great subjective value. It teaches us the value of standing on one's own legs and develops self-reliance, self-help, and self-confidence, (Hear, hear.) It will serve to bring the different classes of the community more closely together and promote unity, mutual sympathy and fellow feeling. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, this is the third time we meet in our Provincial Conference. We can claim credit for little achievement. The field over which we have to work is vast and it is strewn over with numerous pit-falls.

thorns and sharp stones which impede motion. Our progress is beset with difficulties. But the obstacles, instead of damping our energies, should rouse our courage. (Hear, hear.) Laying aside petty differences of opinion, eschewing personal aims and avoiding personal predilections and jealousies we must work in amity and accord. (Hear, hear.) It is not given to any one man or generation to clear this land and to plant it with beautiful trees. We should be content if in our time we succeed in clearing even so much as a small plot. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, my faith is firm that if we are true to ourselves, and if we follow the behests of the noble and the great sages of the past and the present we shall raise ourselves to a position of equality with the other great nations of the world. (Hear, hear).

It is by devotion to duty that our salvation can be achieved. (Hear, hear). The Stern daughter of "The Voice of God" who is "a light to guide, a rod to check the erring and reprove" must rule our conduct. (Hear, hear). Commending ourselves unto her guidance we must pray of her :—

"Oh let my weekness have an end!
"Give unto me made lowly wise
"The spirit of self sacrifice;
"The confidence of reason give,
"And in the light of truth thy
Bondman let me live."

(Loud applause and repeated cries of "*Bande Mataram*)."

Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E.

Of the many eminent sons that India has produced since she passed under the British sceptre, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt occupies by common consent a pre-eminent position. Born in 1848, he has seen sixty years of progress that India has made, a period crowded with events of a more or less momentous character. Belonging to the well-known Dutt family of Rambagan, Calcutta, he received his early education at the now well-known Hare School and later at the Presidency College. He then proceeded to England, entered University College, London, and competed for the Open Competitive Civil Service and came out third in the order of merit at the examination of 1869. He also attended the Inns of Courts and was called to the Bar the same year. In 1871, he returned to India, as a Member of the Indian Civil Service, when he was but an young man of 23. During his long service of twenty six years he had charge of some of the largest and most important districts in Bengal—like Burdwan, with its population of a million and a half and Backerganj, with its population of two millions and Midnapur with its population of two and a half millions and Mymensingh, with its population of three and a half millions—which is equal to the population of many a small Kingdom in Europe. He was a typical District Officer, enjoying the full confidence of both his superiors and of his subordinates, of Hindus and of Mahomedans and of Zamindars and ryots. In some of the districts that have in recent years come to the front since the partition troubles of Bengal, he had

the unique distinction of being a trusted officer of Government. Thus, he was in charge of the large and difficult Mahomedan districts of Mymensing and Backerganj in which the Mahomedan Zamindars co-operated with him most cordially. His success as a District officer won him not only popular favour but also official distinction. He eventually became in 1894 Divisional Commissioner for Burdwan and in 1897 for Orissa, the highest post at the time an Indian could attain to. In 1892, he was made C. I. E. by Government for his marked success as an Administrator. During his service, he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of distinguished men like Sir Stewart Bayley, Sir Antony MacDonnel and Sir Henry Stevens, all of whom rose to be Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces.

Mr. Dutt belongs to that early band of Civilians who made it a sacred duty of theirs to learn the ancient history and literature of India first hand from its original sources. The names of Sir William Muir and Sir William Wilson Hunter, not to speak of others, stand out prominently amongst them. Mr. Dutt's literary activities date from the time he was a young district officer. His first literary venture was the Bengali novel *Banga Bijeta*, which was published in 1874. Coming under the same head may be mentioned here his three other tales of Indian History and his Social novel *Sansar* and *Samaj*, which was orginally published in 1885 and offered again in an English garb under the name of *Lake of Palms*, in 1902. The last of these has had a great circulation amongst both Indians and Europeans of culture and must take rank as one of those few novels by Indians treating of Indian life and attempting to lift that "curtain which veils the inner life of the people of India from the West." That is the true function of the interpreter

966

of the East to the West. How well Mr. Dutt has discharged that not easy task will be apparent to any one who has read the novel even cursorily. Another great Bengali work that Mr. Dutt produced deserves a prominent mention. It is the translation of the Rig Veda into Bengali, which was done in 1885. It was well received both by Government and the literary public, the late Professor Max Muller giving his warmest support to the undertaking.

Greater even than his novels were his historical works which have a reputation of their own now all over India. The earliest work in this department is his *Civilization of Ancient of India* published in 1888, while its author was in change of Mymensing district, one of the largest in Bengal. So great was the industry of Mr. Dutt, that the book not only met a long felt want but exhibited considerable original research that was heartily acknowledged by eminent scholars in India and Europe. Professor Max Muller, with his usual generosity, encouraged him and helped him in his work. Closely connected with this work, is his *Lays of Ancient India*, being selections from Indian poetry rendered into English verse, published in 1893. It is in fact, on the one hand, a companion volume to his *Ancient India*, illustrating as it does the life and thought of the different periods comprising it and on the other an excellent supplement to Dr. H. H. Wilson's *Theatre of Hindus* which treats of the principal classical dramas of India. That he possesses a perfect command of English will be seen from the 24 lines set out below from his peace entited Asoka's "Message to Foreign Nations."—

Far, far extend Kalinga's plains,
And Bengal's fertile coast ;
Asoka of the gods beloved,
These sent his conquering host.

They enslaved a hundred thousand men
A hundred thousand died,—
" And is this what a conquest means ? "
The pious monarch cried!
* * * *
Repentence wrung his royal breast,
And he was meek and lowly;
And Virtuous wishes filled his soul,
And aspirations holy.
He thought of Sakya, noble Teacher,
Buddha high of birth,
Who left his throne and toiled for men,
And spread good will on earth!

" Ho! other conquests I will spread,
And other trophies win,"—
The pious monarch thus he cried.—
I'll Conquer Crime and Sin :
Unto the frontiers of my realm
And far beyond, proclaim,
Asoka fights in faith alone,
And wins the righteous fame ! "

There are other pieces in the volume of excellent poetic merit. Take, for instance, the fire of *Draupadi's Remonstrance* or the gentle, soothing eloquence of the saintly Yudhishthira's reply. The Vedic pieces, in particular, are well worth the attention of those interested in religious poetry. With these must go the condensed metrical versions of the Mahabharata and Ramayana that Mr. Dutt published in 1898. To the former, dedicated by the way to the Marquess of Ripon, the late Professor Max Muller wrote a noteworthy introduction. Every body knows what a long poem the Mahabharata is, it is in fact, "the longest poem " in the whole world as Max Muller put it. To sift it and extract from it what may have been the original story is no easy task. "The task has been boldly undertaken," wrote Max Muller, "and carried

through, as far as I can judge, with great success by Mr. Romesh Dutt in, his "Mahábharata condensed into English verse." He has himself given an account of the principles by which he was guided in his work. He has, as much as possible, taken a number of verses of the original and rendered them faithfully into English. He has left out on the very largest scale, but he has not added; and the impression which his bold undertaking leaves on the reader is certainly that something like what we read in English may have been recited in India when the war between the Kurus and the sons of Pándu was first sung by the ancient bards of the country." That is no slight praise, remembering the scholarship and fame of the person who gave it. It is in fact "a kind of photographic representation, a snap-shot, as it were, of the old poem." The companion volume "Ramayana Condensed in English Verse," dedicated to Prof. Max Muller, was published in 1889. There is hardly space here to quote from these fine versions of the great epics but we promise our readers will, on turning to them enjoy both Indian History and Poetry at one strike. The volumes are sure to last so long as Hindus revere their hoary past.

Of his other works, prominent mention must be made of his *Brief History of Ancient and Modern India* which has long been a school text-book on the subject in India. His history of Ancient and Modern Bengal deserves to be more widely known. His *Literature of Bengal* is an excellent *vade mecum* of the literary progress of Bengal from the earliest to the modern times. His *Rambles in India* and his *Three years in Europe* have had a wide circulation among educated Indians.

The University of London recognised his services to the study of Indian History when it appointed him

in 1898, Lecturer in Indian History in its University His "Mahabharata and Ramayana" were published when he was occupying this position at that University. While in the same chair, he published his remarkable work, *The Economic History of India* in two volumes, the first of which, published in 1901, treats of India under Early British rule and the other (1903) treats of the Victorian period. This work is a comprehensive one and deals with the economic aspects of British rule in India. "Excellent works" writes Mr. Dutt "On the military and political transactions of the British in India have been written by eminent historians. No history of the people of India, of their trades. industries and agriculture, and of their economic condition under British administration has yet been compiled. Recent famines in India have attracted attention to this very important subject, and there is a general and widespread desire to understand the condition of the Indian people the sources of their wealth and the causes of their poverty." A brief economic history of British India is therefore a great desideratum. The work, in a word, traces the intense poverty of the Indian masses and the repeated famines, devastating their country to their root causes. Its aim is not to discourse on the demerits of British rule. Mr. Dutt, like the generality of his countrymen, acknowledges gratefully the good that England has done to India in the past. At the same time, he is of opinion that British rule may be made permanent and better by the rectification of errors that have crept into the system of government in vogue in India since the days of the Company. In one word, as he himself has said of all the greatest literary works of the last half century, his work as a historian of Indian centres round the cardinal idea of "Service to our Motherland." That is the keynote of

his life's work and that shows the patriot in the administrator.

A man of his historical knowledge and patriotic fervour cannot but have wished for the time when he could be of active use to his country. It is now an open secret that Mr. Dutt sought retirement at the earliest moment from his high official position for the purpose of doing some service as a public man to the country he so dearly loves. After his retirement in 1897, he has, indeed, shown how useful a man of rich and varied experience like himself can be to India at the present moment. His long administrative experience had impressed him with the poverty and the want of staying power in the cultivators of this country. As he was free in 1897, he went over to England to focuss English public opinion on this subject. He wrote and spoke on the subject whenever he got an occasion during 1897—8.

His paper on "*Famines in India*" in the *Fortnightly Review* (1897) produced a great stir at the time. During 1897—1898 he spoke to English audiences on the New Sedition law and the hotly contested Calcutta Municipal Bill. In 1898, he gave evidence before the Currency Committee presided over by Sir Henry H. Fowler, formerly Secretary of State for India. Sir John Muir *Bart* one of the members of the Committee remarked that the evidence he gave had struck him as "very important" and wanted to know if the Committee could have other witnesses from amongst Indians themselves.

In 1898, his countrymen honoured him with the invitation to preside over the Indian National Congress that assembled at Lucknow. He assented and the address he delivered on the occasion was a highly suggestive one. He hit on the right nail when he

said that the Civil service represents only the official side of Indian questions. "Our difficulty" he remarked "and our danger lie in this, that great administrative questions are discussed and settled in executive councils where we are not represented and not heard. I do not say that the official view is necessarily wrong, and that our view is necessarily right; but I do say that both views should be fairly represented before the tribunal which shapes our destinies." This defect in the Government of India is about to be rectified by Lord Morley's Reform Schemes. Another subject that he touched upon was the question of Land Revenue assessment. "The real cause" he said of the poverty of our agricultural classes "is simple and even obvious." It is not over population, or the natural improvidence of the cultivation. The real cause is that "except in Bengal and a few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years. This subject he touched again, in 1900, by his open letters to Lord Curzon and by the joint memorial of retired administrators that he was instrumental in sending to the Secretary of State for India on December, 1900. In the latter were made five clear and distinct recommendations:—(1) That the revenue payable by landlords should be limited to half the actual rental; (2) that settlements should be made for 30 years in all Provinces; (3) the local cesses should be limited; (4) that the revenue payable by cultivators should not be enhanced except on definite grounds; and (5) that such revenue should not exceed half the nett produce or the gross produce. The Government in their Resolution on this memorial pronounced in favour of the first three principles (later

abolishing the cesses), though it virtually declined to accept the last two recommendations. Before his voyage back to England in 1900, Mr. Dutt received public addresses at Calcutta and Bombay. Once again in England, he resumed the task of advocating India's claims in England, lecturing and writing on the religion philosophy, and the literature of India. During the next two years Mr. Dutt stayed in England and did exceedingly useful work in enlightening English people on Indian subjects and making them take an interest in their dependency. One of the best speeches he delivered during this time is worthy of special mention. It was the one on Social Progress in India delivered, before the National Indian Association, on March, 1901. "It is not desirable" he remarked, "and it is not possible to Europeanise Indian life. The people of India are well able to judge for themselves what is best for themselves, and Indian life and Hindu life has always proved itself capable of assimilating what is good for itself. It is because we have been able to assimilate all needful reforms from generation to generation and from age to age, that our ancient Hindu life exists in India when so many phases of ancient life have passed away in other countries like Persia, Egypt and Babylon." In the same year he took an active part in the getting up of the memorial to the Secretary of State on the Bombay Land Revenue Amendment Act, himself making the leading speech at the conference held for the purpose in London. In January following, he also joined the memorial by the Famine Union to the Secretary of State for India asking for an enquiry into the economic condition of India.

Mr. Dutt returned to India in Feb. 1902 and was welcomed to Madras by the Mahajana Sabha. "I have

lived to see" he said in his reply, "the whole of the educated people of India united by one common aim, striving for one common object demanding that priceless boon of self Government, which no civilized Government can for ever deny to a civilized nation." He took the opportunity of his stay in India to reply to the resolution of the Government of India on its Land Revenue Policy. The enlightened Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, who had formed a high idea of his administrative capacity offered him the exalted post of Minister of Revenue in his State. The subsequent prosperity of Baroda and the fine reports recording it testified to the excellence of the Maharaja's choice. One of the chief changes introduced by him in the state (and subsequently under his advice and guidance into Mysore State) was the separation of Executive from the Judicial function in its offices. Mr. Dutt had as early as 1893 suggested a scheme for the separation of these function's so harmful to good government in India. His scheme won the hearty approval of that distinguished judicial authority Sir Richard Garth. "So far" the learned Chief Justice said "as I am capable of forming an opinion upon his scheme, I entirely approve of it. It seems to me the most natural and obvious means of separating the two great divisions of labour, the executive and the judicial." It was also supported by lawyers and Judges of the highest eminence and greatest Indian experience in their memorial to the Secretary of State in 1899. The scheme was, in its substantial form, given effect to by the Secretary of State this year and its partial introduction into Bengal has been sanctioned.

Last year Mr. Dutt travelled widely, over Southern India visiting Mysore, Travancore and Cochin.

He was every where enthusiastically received and he made several speeches of note during his en-tourage. One of these on the study of Indian History was delivered in Madras and produced a great impression. Mr. Dutt has taken besides a warm interest in Industrial Conference ever since it started its work, presiding over it once and contributing valuable papers to it one of which is published in the annexure to this life. Mr Dutt is a ready and fluent speaker and as a writer of simple and dignified prose is hardly equalled in India. His most remarkable trait whether as speaker or writer is his moderation which has won the respect and admiration of his sternest adversaries. He is now 60 years old but hardly looks it. He believes in hard work, himself setting the example, in it. He has a keen sense of appreciation and is a man of practical good sense. His scheme for the separation for the Executive and Judicial functions has been adopted by Government. His scheme for the creation of advisory councils is under consideration and is a measure of great potentiality for good. His practical work on the Land Revenue side has lightened the ryots' burden. Lord Morley, than whom there is no better judge of men, appreciated his abilities when he appointed him a member of the Royal Commission that recently went through India. It is not too much to hope that his hand and head will be seen in the good that is expected from its labours.

Social Progress in India

[*Speech delivered at the Annual Meeting of the National Indian Association, on March*, 25, 1901.]

Mr. Dutt said ;—The Resolution which I have the honour to second has been explained by Sir Roper Lethbridge, and I have very little to add to what he has

said, except that as an Indian myself, I feel great pleasure in seconding it. The Resolution is for making increased efforts in support of the Association's funds with the object of promoting female education in India. It is well known—speaking at least for the part of India from which I come, and with which I am most familiar—that for the last thirty or forty years or more, a great deal has been done by the people of India themselves in the cause of social progress and of female education. A great deal has been done, not ostentatiously, but by quiet work at home, to help the cause of social progress; and anything like a lasting and abiding improvement in the country must be done in the future, as has been done in the past, by the people themselves. (Hear, hear). I think many of the gentlemen present here, who have passed a great many years of their lives in India, like my friend Sir Charles Steevens who has moved the first Resolution, are familiar with the names of prominent Indian Gentlemen who devoted their lives to the cause of education and social reform. I need only mention the names of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Keshale Chandra Sen of Bengal, and of Justice Ranade of Bombay whose recent death has filled the people of India with sorrow. They were prominent men in India who, in spite of various duties which they had to perform, devoted a great part of their time to the cause of social progress and social reform, and were careful to adopt methods which were consistent with our Eastern life, because they knew that all reforms in order to be abiding, must be consistent with our Eastern Customs and life. (Hear, hear). This is a point, ladies and gentlemen, which we should always remember—we who try to work in the cause of social reform. The

people of India gratefully accept help from all true friends in the cause of reform; they avail themselves of the schools and teachers you provide; they benefit by your sympathy and your support; but nevertheless all abiding reforms must be worked out by themselves, consistently with the life they live. It is not desirable and it is not possible, to Europeanise Indian life (Applause.) The people of India are well able to judge for themselves what is best for themselves, and Indian life and Hindu life has always proved itself capable of assimilating what is good for itself. It is because we have been able to assimilate all needful reforms from generation to generation and from age to age, that our ancient Hindu life still exists in India when so many phases of ancient life have passed away in other countries like Rome and Greece, like Persia, Egypt and Babylon. Therefore, sir, our best helpers and our truest friends are those who, while they offer us their help and their sympathy, can at the same time sympathise with Eastern life and Eastern institutions. And it is because this Association is trying to co-operate with our own endeavours, to help us where we are in need of help, to provide teachers and schools for the education of our wives, sisters, and daughters, that we gratefully accept its sympathy, its services, and its help. And I have great pleasure, sir, in seconding this Resolution, because the truest progress that we can make, and the truest line upon which we can make that progress, is the extention of female education in India. It is necessary that our women should be familiar with modern institutions, with modern knowledge, and with modern history; a sound education like this is needed to smooth the path of our future progress.

977

Speech at Madras

[*Delivered in the rooms of the Mahajana Sabha, on February* 4, 1902.]

GENTLEMEN.—I received your telegram a few days ago at Colombo, kindly inviting me and my gifted fellow-passenger, sister Nivedita to speak at a Public Meeting on our arrival at Madras. I felt an unspeakable joy that you should have thus accorded your hearty greetings to a lady who is now one of us, who lives our life, shares our joys and sorrows, partakes our trials and troubles, and labours with us in the cause of our Motherland. I also felt gratitude at the honour you had done me personally by giving me this welcome after my prolonged absence. At the same time, I will not conceal from you that your request filled me with grave misgivings. After a somewhat severe course of work in England I had looked forward to rest and cessation from labours on my return to India, and to a quiet life among those who are nearest and dearest to me. Nothing was farther from my mind than the idea of appearing before the public during my stay in India; and you will believe me when I tell you, that I opened your telegram at Colombo with some degree of terror. Nevertheless, your invitation was so kind that it was difficult to decline; and when you added the worthier name of sister Nivedita to mine in your telegram, you skillfully closed the gates behind me, and made a retreat on my part impossible. At the same time you also lightened my task; for in appearing before you on the platform, to-day, I feel that I am like the doorkeeper of the Sanskrit Drama, who comes on the stage opens the place door introduces the princes and then retires. I will take care, therefore, not to detain you

978

long; for I am sure you will all be as audious as I am to listen to her who follows me. She appears before you not as the partisan of any particular sector creed, but as belonging to all India, cherishing a noble pride in India's past, labouring with a loving heart for India's future. Therefore, you will recognise, in her, as I recognise in her, a beloved country woman devoted to the cause of India,, and you will listen to her, as I shall listen to her, as to a sister working for all of us in this her adopted country.

No sign of progress

Gentlemen, I cannot adequately express to you my feelings on an occasion like this, when we meet after an absence of years. We have been divided by seas and oceans, bnt have not been divided in our aims and endeavours. The same cause has enlisted our sympathies, and the same objects have inspired our efforts. Therefore, although I have been absent from you for five years except during the winter months of 1899-1900, my thoughts have been your thoughts, my endeavours have been your endeavours, and my aspirations have been your aspirations, all this time.

India has seen little change these five years. A century has ended and a new century has begun, but we have seen no sign of progress,—rather the reverse. There is no sadder chapter in the economic history of India than the story of these five years, commencing with the famine of 1897, and proceeding on to the famine which has not yet ended. Never in India's history were the mass of the people more resourceless, more crippled as manufacturers, more indebted as agriculturists. Never were greater misfortunes and deaths crowded together within so brief a space.

Never did a civilised, fertile, and industrious country present a scene of more widespread poverty and desolation.

But, gentlemen, when we have narrated the story of famines and pestilence we have not told the whole story of our misfortunes during these five years. Unfortunately, the administration of these years has not made for progress. It is unnecessary for me on an occasion like this to recall to your minds those repressive acts of Government which have engaged your attention so long, and which are still fresh in your memories. I doubt very much if there is any thoughtful and responsible man in India who can look back on these repressive measures to-day with gratification and pride. A feeling of sadness and of despair comes over us as we think of these measures. But Gentlemen, we should never yield to such despair. I for one, have never believed, and will never believe, in this dark future for India. The British Government, inspite of its occasional lapses into repressive and retrograde measures, cannot permanently accept a policy which is so fatal to the good of the people and so fatal to the Empire.

Self-Government

More than this, the future of India depends on us, and on us alone. I am old enough to be able to look back thirty or forty years, when a few solitary voices in a few remote places, disconnected with each other, asked for some feeble concessions for the people. I have lived to see the whole of the educated people of India united by one common aim, striving for one common object, demanding that priceless boon of Self-Government which no civilised Government can for ever deny to a civilised nation. I have heard the same note

918C

sounded in Madras and in Bombay, in Calcutta and in I have seen the best, the foremost, the moderate Lucknow; and thoughtful men in India banded together to obtain for their countrymen a real share in the administration of their own concerns. You cannot travel in any part or province of India, you cannot visit any town or village in India, where the engrossing idea of the most influential and best educated men is not the idea of progress and Self-Government. And this idea which pervade tens of thousands to day is spreading to hundreds of thousands and to millions. Do you think this fact has no significance? Do you think that the spread of this feeling, this idea, this ambition, among the entire body of our educated men,—which has taken place within our own memory,—means nothing? Why, gentlemen, I see in this one fact the strongest promise for the future, the strongest guarantee for administrative reform and political advancement. It is this slow, silent, steady irresistible advance which makes nations, not particular Acts of legislation or measures of adiministration. The most liberal Acts would be useless and valueless and even hurtful if we had no strength, no faith, no capacity of progress. The most retrograde Acts will fail to impede us, if we have trust and faith in ourselves, if we are true to our country and our cause.

Exhortation to his countrymen

Therefore, my friends, and countrymen, my first and last word to you is this: Let us have faith in ourselves! Our future depends on us; Our fate is in our own hands; Our destiny rests on our labours! Do, not, for one moment, despond, for despondency in such a cause is a sin. Do not be intemperate and violent for hysteric shams are the signs of weakness, not of

strength. Strong in our determination, calm in our conviction, let us speak temperately, clearly, and unmistakably; and let us work steadily, and silently, swerving neither to the right nor to the left from the path of our duty to our country.

Gentlemen, we have candid friends who are always telling us that our agitation, is useless and futile ; that our activity does more harm than good; that our endeavours had better be abandoned. But the path which they thus point out to us is not the path of progress, but the path of death! The remedy which these physicians prescribe is that the patient in order to be cured should commit suicide ! If you ever study the Economic History of India during the last 150 years, you will clearly comprehend how much we have lost in every way by our inactivity in the past. And if you have watched carefully the course of recent events, you will understand how much of our economic disasters at the present time is due to the exclusion of the people from all share in the management of their own concerns.

Government by co-operation

There never has been and there can be, any good Government in any great and civilized country without the help and the co-operation of the people themselves. And to advise us to refrain from all endeavours to secure self-government for India, is to perpetuate that economic distress and suffering misery which unhappily distinguishes India at the present day among all great and civilised country in the earth. No gentlemen, our duty demands it, the good of our country requires it, and the prosperity of British Rule depends on it, that we should have some real share in the administration of our own concerns.

Our Destiny is in our Hands

For, myself, I would rather that we should endeavour and fail, than not endeavour at all. It is national life to pursue a great and worthy objects; it is national death to stand still and stagnate. But with us, at the present moment, it is not a question of failure; it is a question of certain triumph in the end. We may be beaten back, once and again; we may labour a whole life-time without attaining our end; but, rest assured, the endeavour will not be made in vain. Our sons will press forward when we sink in the struggle; the cause of our country will prosper when our ashes are cold; and before half a century is over, before a quarter of this new century is over, the people of India will have secured a real and valuable share in the administration of their own affairs,—like all the great and civilized nations of the earth. Let us have faith in ourselves, let us be true to ourselves and our political is assured, our destiny is in our own hands.

The Land Assessment Resolution.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for the welcome you have accorded to us on our arrival in India. In the few words I have addressed to you I have purposely refrained from alluding to the important Resolution which the Government of India have recorded on the subject of the Indian land revenue I feel greatly honoured by the reference which has been made to my humble work in this very important Resolution and the courtesy with which His Excellency's Government has dealt with my suggestions almost disarms criticism. The paper was placed in my hands only this morning, and I have not read even a tenth part of the Resolution yet, and you will pardon me therefore if I am wholly unable

983

on the present occasion to express any opinion on this most important subject. I shall conclude by reiterating my thanks to the Government of India for the earnest attention which they have bestowed on this subject which is all important in reference to the economic condition of the people of India.

The Surat Industrial Conference

AWAKENING FROM INDUSTRIAL SERFDOM

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is nearly six months ago, when I was still in England, enjoying a little rest from work, that I received your kind telegrams inviting me to preside at this Industrial Conference at Surat. I naturally felt a little hesitation before accepting the invitation, as I knew the work and the many engagements which awaited me on my return to India. But I felt proud that you, my kind friends, had thought of me, and chosen me during my absence from India; and as your work is one with which I had identified myself for years past, I accepted your kind invitation with cordial pleasure. And I need hardly add that I am present here to-day with the permission of His Highness the Geakwar of Baroda, an enlightened and patriotic Prince, who heartly sympathises with all your endeavours towards Industrial Progress, and fosters and helps such endeavours in his own State.

Gentlemen, Industrial Exhibitions and Conferences like this are held in all countries and among all progressive nations,—but the Exhibitions and Conferences which we have been holding the past few years have a peculiar significance. They indicate the slow awakening of a nation from industrial dependence and

servitude and a determination to secure for ourselves our rightful place among the industrial nations of the earth. India has always been a great industrial country and in past times she was better known for learning of her philosophers than of the skill of her artizans. Your historic town of Surat has played a prominent part in the industrial history of India during centuries, and boasts of the early settlements of the European nations who came to trade in the East. But long before the rise of modern European nations, Western India was the scene of a busy trade with the greatest nations of the ancient times.

Long before the commencement of the Christian Era, the Phœnicians were,—what the Portugese, the Dutch and the British have been in modern times,—the masters of the carrying trade of the world ; and phœnician merchants carried the rich products of India to the courts of the Pharaos, and of David and Solomon. Later on, Greek writers speak with unstinted admiration of the arts and industries of ancient India and in the centuries immediately succeeding the Christian Era, stately Roman galley frequented the ports of India for her rich trade and her wonderful manufactures.

It is not necessary for me to day to dwell on these well-known facts but there are some of them which are so interesting that they should be known to you all. The first record to which I will refer is called the *Periplus* of the *Erythrean Sea*, a maritime guide book of the first century after Christ which describes the coast trade of India with a fullness of detail which leaves little to be desired. The emporium of Aarbarike on the mouths of the Indus,—probably not far from modern Karachi,—exported saphires, indigo

985

cottons and emeralds. Syrasrene or Saurashtra or modern South Kathiawar exported grains and cotton. And the port of Balygaza which is no other than Bharu Kacha of Broach exported precious stones and porcelain, cottons and silks, ivory and ebony, pepper and spices. Very few of you who frequent the crowded streets and the tortuous lanes of that still busy port care to recall fact that nearly two thousand years ago, Broach was the greatest port of Western India and that rich towns in the interior like Ujjain Plithana and Tagra, poured their silks and cotton fabrics, their perfumes and precious stones into that busy port to feed the luxury of the Roman world. Railways were then not in existence ; but bullock carts laden with cotton fabrics and silk, grains and spices wended their slow way over country roads and cart tracks which converged from north, south, and east to the busy Bunder of Broach, where astute Alexandrain merchants waited in their ships to purchase the goods from Indian traders and to transport them to the West. Bombay was then still in the womb of futurity, but Kalliena or Kalyan near modern Bombay was a small port much infested by pirates. Passing over other ports we come to Cape Comorin and to Ceylon and thence our author takes us to Mysalia or modern Muslipatum known even in those times for its fine cloths. Lastly, reference is made to a great Gangetic mart, the trade of which, even two thousand years ago, consisted of those cotton fabrics of the most delicate texture and extreme beauty which were afterwards known as the Muslins of Dacca. This Gangetic mart is located by some Antiquarians near modern Hooghly in Western Bengal, and by others near modern Dacca in Eastern Bengal. But gentlemen, I do not wish to dwell on this controversy,

or to create a partition among the Antiquarians of Bengal I now take leave of the *periplus* and will only make a passing mention of Piny whose famous Natural History is a perfect encyclopœdia of ancient knowledge on a variety of subjects. He speaks of pepper and ginger which grew wild in India and of the diamonds and pearls, beryl and opal, onyx and jasper, amethyst and carbuncle, which were exported from India for the use of luxurious Roman dames and damsels.

Geography A Science

Lastly we come to Ptolemy of the second century after Christ who raised Geography to a science; and he gives us a full and comprehensive account of Gangetic India, and of India beyond the Ganges. Most of his names are easily identified;—his Indabara is Indraprasta or ancient Delhi, his Badura is Mathura, his Syrastrene is Saurastra or South Kathiawar, his Barygazá is Broach, his Ozene is Ujjain, his Palimbothra is Patna, and his Tamralipti is Tamlock. The capital of Bengal he calls Ganje.

Extensive Commerce

These brief references to the ancient times will suffice. It is only necessary to add in the long centuries succeeding the Christian Era. Hindu ships, laden with Indian goods, traded with Java and other islands, where the remains of Hindu temples and Hindu images are still to be found. In the West, the trade of India was carried on by successive nations; and after the decline of Alexandria, Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland, and England, have been the carriers of the rich manufactures of India to Europe causing the decline of Indian manufactures. From the ancient times

to the present day nations of the west have been enriched by the trade of the East.

It would be a needless waste of time to refer to day to those causes which led to a decline and decay of Indian manufactures from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. The internal was among contending nations in India was one principal cause; the commercial policy of England in those days was a second potent cause ; and the discovery of power looms in England was a third. The fact is beyond doubt that, early in the nineteenth century, the industries and manufactures of India had reached their low-water mark; spinning and weaving and dyeing as well as working in metals and stone, which had given occupation to millions of our countrymen for ages past, had declined. It almost seemed at a time that agriculture would remain the only source of income for the nation, beyond a few village industries of insignificant value and importance.

A New bat of History in our National Progress

Happily, gentlemen, we have now turned over a new leaf in history of our national progress. Our industrious countrymen soon adopted the methods of industry, and competed with western nations for the markets of India and of the East. Forty years ago we had only 18 Cotton mills in all India, the number is probably near 300 in the present day. We had less than 3,00,000 spindles in all India forty years ago, the number to-day is six millions. Our advance in the textile industry has been perhaps more rapid than in other industries, but a general movement is observable to-day all over India to revive old industries, to start new

industries, and to give the people in India their ancient place among the industrial nations of the earth. Call it the *Swadeshi Movement*, or call it by any other name, but the cry has gone forth from one end of the country to other, a cry which stimulates self-reliance, and which is pregnant with the happiest results in the future.

Gentlemen, it has been well said that any true national progress must be simultaneous in all department of national life. And those of us who have studied the popular movements in the different Provinces of India during the last half century will have noticed that there is no department of our life which has not been influenced and permeated to some extent by the spirit of the times. In Literature, the greastest writers in Bengal have lived and written within the last half century, and the names of some of them have travelled beyond the limits of Bengal and of India. In Social Reforms, you in the west have had earnest workers, from the late lamented Mr. Ranade downwards, as we have had equally earnest workers in Bengal. In Religion, Hindus and Mahomedans alike have, within this period, derived new sources of inspiration from there ancient Scriptures strengthening and refreshing and comforting our life on Earth. In politics our great national aspirations are spreading and deepening from day to day and from year to year and are destined in near future to secure to us those privileges of national Self-Government which are the birth-right of all civilised nation. And in Industrial Enterprises too, we have made a humble commencement; which, under the dispensations of a Providence which helps those who help themselves, will spread and fructify the land.

It is some years now since the first Industrial Exhibition was held in connection with the Indian National congress; and it is only a year ago that the first industrial conference was held at Benares, at which I had the honour to preside. From the beginning the Government of India and the Governments of the different Provinces have given us their hearty support and co-operation in these efforts to stimulate our industries; and we gratefully acknowledge that the attitude of the Government towards our industries at the present day is one of cordial sympathy. But Gentlemen, our future rests with us. There is no civilized and progressive nation in Europe or in America which has not secured its own place in the world's history by its own endeavours, strenuous and persistent, in all departments of national life. The call now comes to us from Japan—aye from China too and other Eastern land—and it is the same stirring call teaching us the great lesson of self-help and self-reliance.

As has happened again and again in the past history of India, our women have cordially joined in the great work before us,—and both in Bengal and in Western India, the *Swadeshi Movement* is inspired and sustained by the patriotic endeavour of Indian women which will leave its mark in history. Men and women—we are all engaged in the same task which lies before us, and we have only made a small commencement. Parsees and Jains, Mahomedans and Hindus, let us all sink the petty jealousies and differences which divide us, let us all unite in a common endeavour in the present and a common faith in the future,—and our success in this great endeavour is assured.

990

H. H. Sri Krishnaraja Wadiar G.C.S.I.

Maharaja of Mysore

The Feudatory State of Mysore claims the attention of every student of modern Indian Political and administrative problems, both on account of the largeness of the territories comprised in it and the antiquity of the present ruling dynasty and the eventful changes which have preceded the present regeime. Tradition carries back the history of Mysore to the dim regions of the pre-christian era when India was divided into a number of States under the dominion of Indian rulers. The present Maharaja traces his descent to Yaduraya who, in the fourteenth century, left Guzerat, his native place, and wandered to the south in quest of adventure. Fortune smiled upon him and he succeeded in winning the hand of the Princess of Mysore whom he had saved from a distasteful alliance with a petty chieftain in the neighbourhood. The descendants of Yadu spread abroad the martal fame of the family by the expansion of the state by conquests, and by their skill in diplomacy in the troubled times of Moghul supremacy averted many a catastrophe which would have extinguished the independence of the state. The Mahomedans of Bijapore attempted an entrance into the kingdom by force of arms, but the intrepid military ardour of the then chief, Maharaja Kantarava Narasaraja Wadiyar, stemmed the tide of invasion and delivered the state. When Aurangazeb occupied the throne

of Hindustan, the Maharajah concluded a successful negotiation with him and secured his dominions from being absorbed in the viceroyalty of the South. It was in the eighteenth century, when India was swarming with political adventures, both Eastern and Western, that Haidar Ali gained a foot hold in the kingdom and ultimately seized the sceptre. Haidar and his son, Tippu, were dragged into the whirlpool of conflict with the British arms, and paid the penalty of weakness by the fall of Seringapatam and the extinction of Moslem rule in Mysore.

The authority of the old dynasty was restored by the accession of Maharaja Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur to the throne under the able guardianship of Purniah. The energy and ability of Purniah guided the state with success till 1812, when he retired from office, the young Maharaja assuming the direction of affairs. The Maharaja did not come into a haven of peace, and he found very soon that he had rocks and shoals ahead, through which he would have to steer the bark of the state with the consummate wisdom of a veteran statesman. Such wisdom was not his, and what with the liberality of his nature and the cupidity of his courters and the accumulated heritage of past misrule, the murmurs of the subjects reached the ears of the Governor General, who resolved in spite of the remonstrance of the Maharaja that his retirement was a necessity and that the administration should be carried on by a British Commissioner. In 1831, British rule began and continued till 1881, for a period of fifty years during which the principles and methods of administration prevailing in British India

were introduced into Mysore and the traces of ancient misrule were obliterated. Krishnaraja Wadiyar, however, did not despair but awaited his opportunity in the full hope that the authority would be transferred to his family. In this he was not disappointed. In 1865, His Highness Sree Krishnaraja Wadiyar adopted Chama Rajendra, and although the government of India did not recognize the adoption in the beginning, he ultimately met with success. On the death of Krishnaraja Wadiyar, a proclamation was issued which acknowledged the succession, and which held forth the hope that, in the event of Chama Rajendra proving, himself well qualified to discharge the duties of his high Office on attaining his majority, he should be fully invested with the powers of a ruling chief. On the 23rd September, during the auspicious festival of the Dussara, the installation of the young Prince took place. In 1881 the Rendition was drawn which declared that "whereas the said Maharaja Chama Rajendra Wadiyar Bahadur has now attained the age of eighteen years, and appears to the British Government well qualified for the position aforesaid, and is about to be entrusted with the government of the said territories" he should be so entrusted, subject to certain well defined conditions. After a prosperous reign of thirteen years, the Maharaja died at Calcutta on the 28th December 1894, from a severe affection in his throat. In the words of Sir. K. Seshadri Iyer who was then the Dewan, "the administrative policy of his Highness, reign was one of progressive decentralization."

The reigning ruler of Mysore was born on the 4th June 1884, and is the eldest son of the late Maharaja. In 1895 he ascended the Gadi of his ancestors, and during

his minority, the adminstration was in the hands of Her Highness the Maharani Vani Vilasa Sannidhana, C.I., with the help of a Dewan and three counsellors. In 1902 His Highness assumed the reins of adminstration. Lord Curzon paid a high compliment on the occasion and congratulated His Highness. "He has studied the wants and needs of the people at first hand. He has thereby acquired the knowledge which will enable him to understand the problems with which he will be confronted. Fortified by this knowledge, his naturally business like habits and instructive self-reliance should enable him to steer a straight course. * * youth is his and health and strength. He enters upon on a splendid heritage at an early age. May God guide him in his undertaking and speed him on the straight path."

In 1882 His Highness was united with Pratap Kumari Bayi, a Princess of the Royal House of Kathiawar. In 1907 he went to Calcutta and was a guest of the viceroy. While there, he graced by his presence the Industrial Exhibition held in connection with the Indian National Congress. While the Viceroy was at Agra, receiving the Amir of Afghanestan, he was invested with the Grand Commander of the Star of India; and throughout Mysore the occasion was marked by grand demonstrations of joy and enthusiasm.

The early training of His Highness was entrusted to the able guidance of Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L., He was also for some time one of a select few who were brought together for the purposes of education and training. The Maharaja in his youth exhibited high powers of application, and distinguished himself by his manliness and

modesty of deportment. In addition to his intellectual accomplishments, he also unites the powers of a good musician and the ardour of a keen Sportsman. On the death of his father, Mr. Andrew Fraser, C.I.E., I.C.S. (now the Resident in Mysore) began to superintend his education and fit him for the responsibilities of the august office which he was called upon to undertake. His Highness has fulfilled the most sanguine expectations that were formed of him; and he is loved and revered by his subjects, not only because he is the ruler of a great state but he loves them truly and is greatly interested in the real welfare of the five millions or more of subjects entrusted to his care. Deeply religious, although not dis-daining Western Culture, he devotes a considerable time to devotional exercises. He is full of sympathy with every public and charitable institution, and manifests his interest by munificent donations. He enjoys the qualities that are deemed indispensable in a ruler, qualities inherited from nature, and cultivated by training. His Highness's reign is memorable by the inauguration of several beneficent reforms, and his solicitude for the prosperity of his subjects has been shown in measures which are intended for the amelioration of the agricultural classes which form the back-bone of the population. The most noticeable of these changes are the extention of primary education, the introduction of technical education, the establishment of Co-operative credit-Societies, the abolition of the Halat or duty on arecanut, and others which have contributed to the consolidation of the feelings of love and loyalty which His Highness's subjects cherish towards him.

The Mysore Representative Assembly that was devised and brought into existence has proved

ifself a considerable success in bringing the executive officials into contact with the people, and thereby bridging the gulf of ignorance and separateness between them. Now and again, Dewans have been prone to curb the new spirit of enquiry and discussion in the members of the assembly by curt and unsatisfactory replies; but in spite of these inevitable defects the Assembly has gone on increasing in strength and influence. As His Highness hoped it has proved "valuable adjunct to the administration, and in course of time will take its place among the chief political institutions of the land, remarkable for its spirit of independence and its sobriety" His Highness has also sanctioned the institution of a Legislative Council which will render valuable services in the future. The elective system has been introduced and will receive later on an additional strength from the operation of the same principle in other parts of India.

It is not possible to forecast the future of any date, for, the future is open only to the vision of the Almighty; but so long as Mysore enjoys a succession of soverigns of the character of the present Maharaja, so long will it remain one of the most flourishing states in India, continue to grow in importance and vigour till in the fulness of time. She may be destined to attain to some thing greater and nobler than is the condition to-day.

The Madras Industrial and Arts Exhibition

SPEECH OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE

It was not without diffidence that I accepted the invitation, so courteously extended to me by the Committee, to open the Madras Industrial and Arts

996

Exhibition. I could not but feel that there were many others more obviously qualified for the duty, whether as captains of industry, administrators of experience, or as spokesmen of public opinion. But, as it was evident that the Committee were not in search of instruction from an expert, I could not but conclude that they desired the sympathy of a representative of my class, or of the head of a State which may claim a substantial interest, not only in the indigenous arts and crafts, but also in the more progressive enterprises of Western origin. Of my official sympathy I had already been able to give expression, when sanctioning the proposal of my Dewan and Council, to send a representative collection of objects of Mysore Art and Industry to the Exhibition and, in view of the considerations to which I have referred, I felt that I could not decline the opportunity of evincing my personal interest by taking part in to day's ceremoney.

In some quarters doubts have, I believe, been expressed of the utility of exhibitions such as this. In early days extravagant expectations were formed of their possibilities, and the great London Exhibition of 1851 was at the time, supposed to have inaugurated the millennium. The 50 years or so that have elapsed since then have not witnessed the realisation of this pleasing vision, nor have the "World's Fairs" of Europe and the West always fulfilled the expectations of their promoters, in immediate and startling expansions of trade and industries, in general or particular. Our exhibition here, however, is on a more modest scale and our expectations of its results are modest in proportion.

In these days of keen competition much is heard in all parts of the Empire of what pessimists

term, the decadence of British trade and industries, which other's prefer to regard as the legitimate and natural advance of foreign rivals in the market of the world. Whatever the correct description of the trouble, the symptoms are beyond question and everywhere the need of increased commercial and industrial activity is proclaimed and acknowledged. Here, in India, the problem is peculiar. Our trade tends steadily to expand, and it is possible, as we know from the Parliamentary reports, to demonstrate by statistics, the increasing prosperity of the country generally. On the other hand, we in India, know that the ancient indigenous handicrafts are decaying, that the fabrics for which India was renowned in the past are supplanted by the products of Western looms and that our industries are not displaying that renewed vitality, which will enable them to compete successfully in the home or the foreign market. The cultivator on the margin of subsistence remains a starveling cultivator, the educated man seeks Government employment, or the readily available profession of a lawyer whilst the belated artisan works on the lines marked out for him by his forefathers, for a return that barely keeps body and soul together.

It is said that India is dependent on agriculture and must always remain so. That may be so, but there can, I venture to think, be little doubt that the solution of the ever recurring famine problem, is to be found, not merely in the improvement of agriculture, the cheapening of loans, or the more equitable distribution of taxation, but still more, in the removal from the land to industrial pursuits of a great portion of those, who, at the best, gain but a miserable subsistence

and on the slightest failure of the season are thrown on public charity. It is time for us in India to be up and doing ; new markets must be found, new methods adopted and new handicraft developed, whilst the educated unemployed, no less than the skilled and unskilled laboures, all those, in fact, whose precarious means of livelihood is a standing menace to the well-being of the State, must find employment in reorganised and progressive industries. That educated opinion is awakening to the situation, this Exhibition I take to be a proof. The cry for commercial and industrial education increases, and in this education such exhibitions are an important feature.

The subject of industrial eduction has many prophets, there must be many in the present assembly who are eminently qualified to discuss it, of whom I cannot claim to be one, and I do not propose to inflict on you, at any length such views as I may have been tempted to form. Some attention has however, been paid to the subject in Mysore and it has only brought into prominence the great difficulties which must be faced before positive results can be achieved. Possibly our experience is not without its parallel, even in Madras. But that, to my mind is no reason for discouragement. The old saying that the man who never made a mistake never made anything holds good pre-eminently in matters industrial. The time and trouble devoted to experiment have not been wasted and it is reasonable to hope that all over India the Governments are profiting by past failure and are gradually directing such instruction as they are able to afford, on to sounder and better lines. The prime essential is that the instructor should know more about the industry than those whom he undertakes to teach, a

condition that has by no means invariably been fulfilled. Our object is, I take it, to find new callings for those whose hereditary employment from various causes, no longer provides a livelihood and increased efficiency for those whose wares are still in demand, but at price which does not remunerate the craftsman. At present in too many cases, a boy attracted by a scholarship spends some years in an industrial school, and on leaving has no idea beyond returning to the ancestral calling clerkly or menial or to the hereditary tools and methods. So long as this state of thing prevails, we have advanced but little on the road to success. It seems to me that what we want is, more outside light and assistance from those interested in industries. Our schools should not be left entirely to officials, who are either fully occupied with their other duties or whose ideas are prone, in the nature of things, to run in official grooves. I should like to see all those who "think" and "know," giving us their active assistance, and not merely their criticism of our results. It is not Governments or forms of Government that have made the great industrial nations, but the spirit of the people and the energy of one and all working to a common end.

To return to the exhibition, the object of industrial exhibitions is, I conceive, to convey the public evidence of the condition and progress of local industries and to suggest to those interested latent possibilities of improvement. Madras may claim to be a peculiarly suitable locality for such an exhibition. Not only is the Presidency noted for the excellence of its hand-woven goods, for the skilfulness of its metal works and for its pre-eminence in the leather tanning industry, but the city of Madras has also seen the birth of a completely new industry, which promises to be a source of

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1001

MEMOIR

OF THE

CODUGU SURVEY.

COMMONLY WRITTEN

KOORG.

PART I.

BY

LIEUTENANT CONNOR,

SURVEYOR.

BANGALORE:

CENTRAL JAIL PRESS.

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1002

INDEX.

TO THE

CODUGU MEMOIR.

PART THE 1st.

	PAGE
Introduction, ...	
Situation—Boundaries, ...	1
Remarks on the Boundary, ...	2
Etent and Area, ...	3
Table exhibiting the Area of Codugu together with that of its interior Divisions, ...	5
Capacity, ...	7
Estimate of the hilly and plain,cultivated and uncultivated lands,	8
Reference to the surrounding countries,...	9
Aspect,—Mountains	11
General observations as to the Superficies and Configuration.	13
Map of the interior Divisions, ...	
Divisions and their Boundaries, ...	14
Principal Places, Cusbas, Market Towns, &c.—Coadleypett,	17
Sunnywar Suntay—Ramapoora or Ramasamy Cunnawey,	17
Soamwarpett—Muddukayray, ...	18
Veerajenderpett, ...	19
Bagamundla—Kiggut Naad—Palaces, ...	20
Remarkable places below the Ghauts—Poottoor, Forts Droogs &c.—Fort of Muddukayray	21
Cuddungs or Breast works,...	24
Defences of the Roads, ...	25
Villages and Towns, ...	25
Waters &c., ...	26
Rivers &c., Cauvery	27 & 28
Soornawutty...	30
Dood Holay or Luchmun Tiritt—Burrapolly,...	31
Hemmawutty—Rivers below the ghauts—The Pruswanni river, ...	32
Coomardarry—Irruday Holay,...	33 & 34
Lakes, Tanks, Reservoirs, &c.—Forest, Woods, Jungle &c,	35

1008

PAGE.

Agrarams of Bramins, Polliams, &c., ... } 42
Jaghiers—Punneeya's of Rayal Farms, ... }

Cattle, Animals, &c., ... 44

Kine, ... 45

Buffaloes—wild Animals, ... 46 & 47

Tigers—Bears, ... 48

Kautee or wild Buffaloe—Kaymay,... 49

Kennai or wild Dog, ... 50

Remarkable Buildings—Mahdeopoor Mattam, ... 52

Mausoleum at Muddukayray—Palace, ... 53

Mines, Minerals, Manufactures, ... 54

Manufactures—Soil of the high grounds in Codugu proper, } 55
Of the large Hills, ... }

Of the high grounds in Yailsowra—The western face of the } 56
ghauts Soil of the valleys in Codugu proper—In Yailsowra }
and Nunjarajputtun, ... }

Soil below the ghauts—Of the high grounds—Of the valleys,... 57

Crops above the ghauts—In Yailsowra—Crops below the } 58
ghants—Return in fold, ... }

Productions of Codugu proper—Of Yailsowra & Nunjarajputtun, 59

Of the forests—Below the ghauts—Agriculture, ... 60 & 61

Of the Upper Country—Lands—Ploughing, ... 62

Manure—Species of Rice—Sowing,... 63

Naty or Transplantation—Weeding, ... 64

Harvest—Cultivation of Yailsowra—Of Nunjarajputtun, ... 65

Cultivation below the ghauts—Lands, ... 66

Manure—Sowing—Weeding 67

Crops—Harvest—Coomaray cultivation—Hill Rice, ... 68

Raggy—Arreca Plantations—Character of the cultivation,... } 69
Obstacles, &c., ... }

Agricultural Instruments,... ... ... } 72
The plough of Codugu proper, ... }

Register of the Villages, ... 73

General view and description of the Boundary, ... 95

Appendix, ... 115

Series of Triangles, ... 116

Table shewing the distances of the several Points from the } 137
Meridian of Babroyen Droog and its perpendicular, ... }

1004

INTRODUCTION.

The following Memoir it is hoped, will serve to illustrate in some measure, the leading particulars connected with the Map of Codugu and may, perhaps, be found to answer most of the questions that would suggest themselves, as to the situation, physical construction, surface, extent &c. of this little principality. In the Miscellaneous observations that are annexed, an attempt is made to convey some idea of its Government, population, resources, &c. The remarks made on those subjects may it is probable, be considered as unequal to the interest they excite, or the comparative importance attached to them, and the meagre notices given, would doubtless justify the objection, but, it is hoped, not countenance the conclusion, that such was attributable to carelessness or indifference; however ready I may be to acknowledge the imperfect, perhaps trifling nature of the information conveyed, I must deprecate the suspicion of its originating from such a cause. Indeed if apologies were necessary for the loose, and unconnected sketch I have ventured to give, there are not wanting circumstances, that might be offered in extenuation.

The Survey of Codugu having in every instance been conducted after the manner observed with regard to that of Soanda, no particular account of the method pursued in carrying it on will now be required.

The duties of the establishment, with reference to the abovementioned district being completed on the 31st October 1815, it was placed under my directions and ordered to proceed to Codugu for the purpose of surveying that Principality. Some delay necessarily occurred in arranging for this undertaking; the Survey however, was finally completed on the 31st of October 1817, thus rendering the whole time consumed in its execution precisely two years, a period it is hoped that will not be deemed as having been protracted to a greater length than was consistent with due accuracy, and what was absolutely necessary, from the difficult nature of the country.

1005

MEMOIR

OF THE

CODUGU SURVEY.

Situation.

In speaking of the situation, aspect and physical construction of this territory, it may be desirable to describe it under two heads, first that of Codugu proper embracing in a general sense the whole of the country above the ghauts, and secondly, that consisting of the districts lying beneath this ridge, those combined portions forming the principality. Codugu proper is situated on the summit, though occupying but a small portion of that range of mountains which formed the boundary of ancient Kerala.* The western ghauts are here elevated about 5000 feet above the level of the sea, and covered everywhere with almost impervious woods, present to the westward a steep and precipitous surface, towards the east, however, they have a gentler declivity; Muddukayray the capital of this mountainous principality, lies 63¾ miles almost due west of Seringapatam, (it being only 51" north of that place.) It is situated in the midst of the hills and is in latitude 12° 26' 20", longtitude 4° 30' 46." The possessions of this state above the ghants, stretch on the north and west, to the champaign country of Mysore, and on the south to the confines of the hilly district of Wynaad; that portion of the country lying below the ghauts, is of confined breadth, but extends at its most western point, to within a few miles of the sea, embracing within its limits a small portion of Malliallum and Tullava.† The extreme limits of the territory lie between 11° 55' 23" and 12° 49'

* Kerala the ancient name of the Western tract which comprises the modern countries of Malabar, Travancore and Canara. Konken is the northern extension of this low country.

† The Purswunnie river falling into the sea at Chandergerry formed the ancient boundary of those two provinces now known under the modern names of Malabar and Canara, the division between which is the Peyunguddy river whose stream separates the two Collectorates.

33″ north latitude; and 4° 8′ 23″ and 5° 14′ 10″ longitude west from Madras observatory.

Boundaries.

Codugu is bounded on the north, partly by the talook of Buntwalla in Canara, and is separated from it by the Nettrawutti and Coomardarry rivers which for the extent of 34 miles constitute its frontier. On the eastern part of this northern boundary by the district of Bullum or Munzeerabad and is there partly defined by the Hemmawutty river. On the east by the talooks of Konoer, Arculgode and Bettadipoor of Mysore. The Cauvary for a considerable distance (near 20 miles) marking the division. On the S. E. by the Talook of Heggadevencotta; and on the south by the district of Wynaad, the line of demarcation passing over the summit of the Brumagerray hills. On the west it is bounded partly by the district of Tellicherry in the Province of North Malabar—the range of western ghauts separating the two countries for the space of nearly 65 miles, quitting them however, the line of division takes a direction towards the sea, when having approached the town of Coombla, it receds for a short distance, after which turning towards the north if forms a junction with the Nettrawutte river, at the north-western extremity of the country being bounded for the last 80 miles by the talook of Beakull belonging to North Canara.

Remarks on the boundary.

A momentary glance at the map of Codugu will shew the great irregularity of its figure; and the comparative smallness of its contents in proportion to the extent of its boundary it is encompassed on the west, south, and part of the north, by the British possessions which extend along its limits for 229½ miles (13 of which are occupied by Wynaad and the remainder by Canara and Mulliallum). The territory of Mysore runs along the eastern frontier for 139 miles thus making the whole perimeter equal to 368½ miles, an extent of boundary greatly disproportionate to its area. The upper country with the exception of Yailsewra talook is generally defined by natural limits. The ghauts on the south west, and the stupendous ridge of the Brumagerray mountains on the south, present the most distinct boundaries; quitting this chain, the eastern frontier is marked by an immense forest, except where the Cauvery forms the line of separation; approaching the northward, this woody belt gives place to the open

slopes of Yailsowra, whose limits are defined by a factitious boundary.*

The Districts below the ghauts divided by so great a barrier from the country on their summit, naturally form a portion of Malabar and Canara which they nearly intersect, and to which indeed they formerly belonged; it will be seen that their limits with the exception of the northern line are quite artificial, the boundary being in scarcely any place defined by objects forming a natural barrier.†

Extent and area.

Codugu is of a very irregular outline; could its form be reducible to any determinate figure, it would be to that of a triangle having its apex at the extreme western point. Its length from north to south is 61 miles and from east to west 63½ miles—those dimensions however continue but for a very short space.

The original possessions of this principality were confined in all probability in the first instance, within the precints of the most hilly parts, the circumstances which led to an enlargement of those contracted limits, will be found detailed in the slight historical sketch that is given. It may however, be observed that Sooleeya was acquired by purchase; Umr was the gift of the Bednore Rajah to one of the Codugu Chiefs; Punjay and Bullaree were acquired from Hyder partly at the purchase of peace with those mountaineers, and partly as the compromise for certain violated engagements, and Yailsowra was obtained by conquest. Its extent was comprised within those limits till the year 1804 when the British Government, with its usual liberality, in consideration of the singular fidelity and eminent services of the late chief, ceded to him the talook of Poottoor, now forming one of the most valuable portions of the country. The present extent of this principality is doubtless greater than it ever could have been at any previous period; it comprises an area of

* The boundary is known with the greatest exactness and preserved with the utmost solicitude, a small path runs along it for nearly the whole circuit. Guards are placed at short intervals for the particular purpose of preventing intrusion.

† *Vide* detailed account of the boundary in the Appendix.

2165¾ square miles, of this space the lower districts occupy 580-2-2¾, those above the ghauts 1585-1-5¾. Calculating however, from the immediate summits of the ghauts the division will be thus, above, 1266-1-14¾ : below, 899-1-9. The accompanying table will be found to exhibit every information with regard to the area occupied by the interior divisions of the country.

TABLE SHEWING the area of Codugu together with that of its interior Divisions

		Miles	Parts of a mile ¼	Parts of a mile 64ths		Miles	Parts of a Mile ¼	Parts of a Mile 64ths
Yallsowra Talook	Coadley Hobely Naad ..	8	2	7¾				
	Coodooloor do	18	3	6				
	Hoolacodo do	5	2	10½				
	Bombulloor do	3	1	12				
	Bulla do	13	1	9½				
	Connágdul do	3	1	7½				
	Hamegond do	6	0	3¼				
	Doadhully Gowdhully do	7	3	8¾				
	Nirrootoda do	5	1	2½				
	Menesedda do	5	1	9¼	Total of			
	Mooloor do	7	2	4½	Yallsowra			
	Gunagoor do	12	1	4¼	Talook	91	3	5½
The twenty-three divisions or Naads which may particularly be denominated Codugu proper	Nunjarajputtun Naad	55	1	15¼				
	Yeddoor do	94	1	2				
	Gudday do	48	2	12¼				
	OolagoolleeMoodagareedo	32	2	12				
	Hoaroor Nooruckkul do	39	2	4¾				
	Soorlaby Moothor do	65	0	11¼				
	Hahlayray Buddugayray do	29	0	3¾				
	MuddukayrayHoroumullay do	20	0	3½				
	Pudy Naku Naad	142	1	1				
	Kuddiethu do	51	1	10½				
	Hoodoogayray Moondupum do	35	2	1¼				
	Bayngu Naad	42	0	13½				
	Byru do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	41	1	11¼				
	Yedday do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	10	1	9½				
	Hirroda do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	8	0	2				
	Baithoalley do (Yedday Naku Naad.)	32	1	3¾				
	Ammuthu Naad do	77	0	13				
	Bayppu do	41	2	2¾				
	Kodyengayray do	39	1	6¾				
	Kuggoadloo do	40	0	4¼				
	Bettioth do	89	0	5	Total of			
	Kaunthamoor do	14	1	12¾	Codugu			
	Thawa do	139	3	4	proper	1180	0	7

NOTE:—The insulated portion of the Company's territories coming within the Codugu limits is of course not included in the area of the Principality, this portion amounts to 8-3-15. This added to what has already been stated as the extent of Codugu will give 2174-3-6¾ square miles as the area of territory circumscribed by the Codugu boundary.

			Miles.	Parts of a Mile. ¼	64th		Miles.	Parts of a Mile. ¼	64th		Miles.	Parts of a Mile. ¼	64th
Kiggutt Naad Talook.	Unjigayray	Naad ..	23	3	7½								
	Aurykayray	do ..	47	0	12½								
	Tawullugayray	do ..	54	2	7½								
	Koorchy Toru	do ..	55	3	9								
	Kirrigoor	do ..	12	1	0½	Total of							
	Hutthacuttu	do ..	53	3	4½	Kiggut Naad							
	Murray	do ..	65	2	15½	Talook	313	1	9	Total area of Codugu above the Ghauts.	1535	1	5½
Umr.	Kolamuggurra	Magunnie..	43	3	11½								
	Kunderpaudee	do ..	33	2	12								
	Chokaudee	do ..	10	1	0½								
	Moghurrudhu	do ..	4	3	0	Tota							
	Yainakul Dawarholly	do ..	13	2	5	Umr.	106	1	5½				
Sooleesy.	Ball Naad	Magunne ..	21	0	3								
	Paduroanoor	do ..	23	1	9								
	Moodoonoor	do ..	18	3	6½								
	Iddurrukah	do ..	29	3	3½								
	Arranthode	do ..	33	3	10½	Total of Sooleesy.	170	2	0½				
	Uddoor	do ..	38	2	9								
Punjee Magunnie.	Sidly	Magunnie ..	2	1	1½								
	Amrakasupaudy	do ..	11	0	8½								
	Kuddubudda	do ..	6	2	0½								
	Buudady	do ..	2	3	3½								
	Old Punjee	do ..	22	0	1½	Total of Punjee.	48	3	10				
	Part of Soobramunni	do ..	4	0	3½								
Nettinukay Magunnie.	Saivurulluwutta	do ..	47	2	13½	Total of Nettinukay.	99	2	5½				
	Nettinukay	do ..	51	3	8½								
Pootoor Magunnie.	Barl Bellioor	Magunnie ..	12	2	3½								
	Pootoor	do ..	53	0	5	Total of Pootoor							
	Neireymuggurra	do ..	5	2	1		71	0	9½	Total area of the lower Districts of Codugu.	580	2	2½
Bullaree Magunnie.	Old Bullaree	Magunnie ..	51	3	1½								
	Part of Old Puttoor	do ..	20	1	3½	Total of Bullaree							
	Do Soobramuhni	do ..	11	3	5		83	3	9½	Total area of the Principality of Codugu.	2165	3	7½

Total of the Sooleesy Talook. 276-3-15½

Total of the Pootoor Talook. 303-2-2½

Capacity.

With so large a portion overgrown with forests extremly hilly, and a surface having everywhere such inequalities of level, as in no place to present any thing resembling a plain, the capabilties of this principality as it now offers itself to observation, would be concluded as more circumscribed than even its narrow limits would lead it to be supposed. The natural capacity of the country however is very great, and only requires a more enlarged population to call it forth; forests of a gigantic growth and everywhere a vigorous and florid vegetation, indicate fully its productive powers, and the general figure of the hills, covered with a rich and deep earth, render them almost everywhere capable of being cultivated; they have room and soil sufficient for maturing vegetable productions, and promise fully to repay the labor and expense of husbandry, while its fertile valleys yield in the same extent of surface in the proportion of more than double the quantity of the neighbouring districts. Water, so necessary for all the purposes of agriculture, is obtained in abundance, the nature of the country ensuring it a profuse supply; such a character is however, only immediately applicable to Codugu proper; Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun have all the aridity of the open plains of Mysore and something of their comparative sterility.

In the districts below the ghauts, the soil of the cultivated lands is more superficial and less productive, and of that of the upper grounds is almost barren, a large portion consisting of all the indurated stone, common throughout the western coast; where more favorable they are covered by but a thin stratum of clay; the valleys in part of those districts however are tolerably fertile, and throughout Sooleeay and Punjee are adapted to the cultivation of the Areca tree; steep, narrow, sheltered alike from the extremes of heat and cold, and always retaining a considerable moisture, they possess all the necessaries requisite for the success of those valuable plantations.

Estimate of the hilly and plain cultivated and uncultivated lands.

A reference to the accompanying table will convey a tolerable correct idea of the quantity of land under cultivation in each particular district.

1012

TABLE shewing generally the proportion of cultivated lands.

		Cultivated.		Uncultivated.		REMARKS.
		Square miles.	Parts of a mile 16ths	Square miles.	Parts of a mile. 16ths	
Codugu proper.	Yailsowra Talook	14	6¾			This table has been obtained by the measurement on the plan of the space represented cultivated and may be considered as near the truth as such a mode is capable of. A reference to the table exhibiting the area of the interior divisions will enable the portion cultivated in each immediately to be ascertained. The total as here given shews the country under cultivation to be in proportion of about one 11-56-100ths of the whole country.
	Nunjarajputtun Naad.	1	4			
	Yeddoor do.	7	7½			
	Gudday do.	3	14¾			
	Oolagoolee Moodagayray do.	2	8¼			
	Hoarcor Nooruckkul do.	2	14¼			
	Soorlaby Moothoo do.	1	4¾			
	Hahlayray Buddugayray do.	1	10			
	Muddukayray Horomullay do.	1	10			
	Paudy Naku do.	8	4¼	0	6¼	
	Kuddieth do.	5	5½	1	5	
	Hoodoogayray Moosdupum do.	3	2¾			
	Bayngu Naad do.	4	5			
	Byru do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	3	0¾	0	14¾	
	Yedday do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	2	11¾	0	0	
	Hirrooa do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	2	1¼	0	2¾	
	Baithoolley do. (Yedday naku Naad.)	1	8½	0	11¼	
	Ammuttha do.	7	11	2	14¼	
	Bayppu do.	6	9¾	1	8½	
	Hooyeangayray do.	5	13¼			
	Keygoadloo do.	3	6			
	Bettieth do.	6	8½	4	9¾	
	Kaunthamoor. do.	2	8¼			
	Thawa do.	5	2¾			
	Total.....	90	13	12	9	
	Kiggutt Naad Talook	15	6½	22	11¼	
	Umr	7	5½			
	* Sooleeay	14	1¼			
	Total of Umr Sooleeay.....	21	6¾			
	Punjee	6	4½			
	Bullaree	13	7⅛			
	Poottoor	11	0⅛			
	Nettinukay	14	13			
	Sum Total.....	187	10½	35	4¼	

* This includes whatever portion may be under Areca plantation.

It will be seen from the preceeding that, on a general average, not more than one 11½ of the whole area is rendered subservient to the wants of man; this very limited proportion is in a great measure accounted for by the rugged nature of the country, the space capable of cultivation could however be still greatly enlarged, as a very great share of that extent, now covered with forest in point of level and soil is calculated for it, and at the lowest calculation ⅓ of the whole is fit for the plough, this of course will be understood as referring to the cultivation of dry grains, that of rice is capable of being increased, but, in a much smaller degree—the extent of waste land is only great in the Kiggutt Naad talook, and but only a portion of it is capable of cultivation.*

It has already been said that, throughout the whole country there is no space, however small, sufficiently level to be characterized as a plain. Indeed Codugu is one series of hills, varying only in point of elevation, it will not be necessary to particularize the area of each range; the fall of the ghauts alone may deserve a specific mention, calculating from their summits till they melt into the lower hills of the districts situated at their foot, the declivity of that portion of the ghauts coming within this territory, occupies a space of 2613 3-5th square miles, the whole of which is a steep precepitous descent clothed with a majestic forest.

Like the hills, wood is too much the character of this country to require a statement of the area that may be particularly occupied by it, indeed there are but few places that can be called at all open. Yailsowra is the only exception.

Reference to the surrounding countries.

Encompassed by the possessions of the British and those of Mysore, the countries surrounding Codugu are too well known, to require here anything but a brief mention as to the reference and connection which they may bear to it. Codugu broken by hills, covered with woods, having but indifferent roads, and no large towns, holds out but few temptations to an extensive intercourse with its neighbours, the

* Much of the space represented as waste may at one time have been cultivated; but from long disuse, has degenerated into swamps which cannot be rendered arable.

1014

superior advantages it enjoys for the production of rice renders it however in some measure the granary of the countries in its vicinity. The fertility of the soil, and the habits of the people enable them fully to administer to the wants of their neighbours in this particular.

The geographic position of this principality renders it an object of importance in a military point of view, whether considered as bordering on the confines of Mysore and in the immediate vicinity of the capital of that state, or regarded with reference to that part of Malabar and Canara, which it approaches in point of locality.

Aspect.

The aspect of Codugu presents an entire forest, the long and narrow cultivated valleys enchased within it, serves but to render those vast woods more striking; the whole of the eastern boundary presents a remarkable geographic line of demarcation, exhibiting an almost uninterrupted: and impervious wood from the Burmagerray hills, till to reaching the Cauvery; this space is wholly uninhabited: advancing westwards the woods decrease in density as the country improves in cultivation, and becomes gradually thinner till reaching the western ghauts, the immediate summits of which, partially bare of wood, are clothed with a luxuriant herbage. South from Veerajenderpett, those jungles become less impenetrable, and the whole of Kiggutt Naad(with the exception of the eastern boundary) including the Burmagerry Hills is comparatively open, at least when contrasted with the deep forests of the contiguous district. Approaching towards the north, the thick umbrageous woods of the central parts give way to the date, sandal, and other trees, and shrubs of a more meagre soil, leaving Yailsowra an almost perfectly champaign tract.

But a small portion of the summits of the ghauts is free from jungle; their western face presents a continued forest of immense stature partially subsiding at some distance from their base. Wood however is the unvaried feature of these regions. The lower districts of Umr and Sooleeay are overgrown with it, quitting them however and advancing towards the sea it gradually decreases, Bullaree and Pungee being generally clad with a more thin and scanty garb, still further, approaching westward it entirely gives way to the cultivated valleys and barren rocky slopes of the greater part of Poottoor.

Mountains. The western ghauts, running nearly from north to south, divides this Territory into two unequal portions differing in many essential particulars; the general configuration of both however is abrupt and broken, the most prominent ridge of mountains, as to height and extent, is that forming the summits of the ghauts. This chain is unequal in its elevation, and somewhat irregular in its direction, having a large curvature immediately at the head of the Thorikahna ghaut, the ridge however experiences but little interruption in the course of 50 miles, running from Subramuhni on the north to the Brumagerry hills on the south; towards the west it falls with great steepness, the descent from the summit to the foot being generally from 2½ to 3 miles, the first part of which is particularly rapid; to the east this chain has in many places a precipitous descent, and is generally steep, the declivity extending however, but for a comparatively short distance, its length bearing no comparison with that of the western face; innumerable ridges branch off from this range, but all dimunitive in proportion to the parent from which they spring, they decrease in height as they recede from this ridge, but have everywhere narrow summits, and steep declivities. Todiandamaèl, situated 13½ miles almost directly west of the Pettah, detaches itself in a picturesque manner from this collossal range, and raises its pointed summit above all others; this beautiful hill the most elevated in this part of the ghauts, can only be viewed with effect at some distance beneath its base, its measurement is 5682 feet above the level of the sea, Soobramuhni part of the same ridge, and situated on the northern confines of Codugu, and partly separating it from Mysore, has nearly similar claims to pre-eminence, it being only 99 feet lower; the height of these two points will convey some idea of the elevation of this chain, which on an average is in scarcely any place more than from 4 to 800 feet below them.

The Brumagerry range of hills, running in a direction from east to west, and situated on the southern limits, constituting a formidable natural barrier between Codugu and Wynaad is the next in importance; its general height may be about 4500 feet above the level of the sea, it consists of a table land from the elevated plain of which detached summits rise. Davashi betta is the highest of those, being only however from 100 to 150 feet more elevated

than the other peaks. The northern face of this range has a steeper ascent and of greater length than that looking towards the southward, giving to Wynaad the appearance of having a higher general level then Codugu. Davashi betta is a place of pious celebrity and has been the residence of Suneeashees for time immemorial; numerous devotees resort to the small spring at its foot from which issues the Letchmun Tirut, and a journey to Davashi betta is supposed to add efficacy to this pilgrimage.

Of the minor ridges, that supporting the table land upon which Muddukayray lies is the most conspicuous. Noorkull naad rising on the south eastern extremity of this chain is the highest point of it, those ranges branching off from the stupendous mountain of Soobramuhni are next in consideration, running from that hill they pass a long northern boundary for a considerable distance and are high and steep.

Numberless insulated hills giving way to steep slopes chequer the surface of the country; of those, Cotay Bitta is the most remarkable, this immense mountain lies 9 miles nearly north of Muddukayray its elevation is not greatly below that of the range of ghauts, and its base occupies an immense extent of country, the summit of this hill is comparatively flat forming a kind of waving table land, its sides alone are clothed with forest, and innumerable cultivated valleys occupy the recesses in them; almost immediately on the top of Cotay Betta there is a fine reservoir of water which, in every season retains a constant supply, close to it is a rude temple dedicated to some of the numerous deities that share the homage of those mountains. Maullimby Peak lying on the confines of Yailsowra and Yeddooa naad is the next in point of elevation it is however more remarkable for the beauty of its figure which represents an exact cone, than for its height. Other detached hills and ridges, tho' numerous are not deserving of any particular notice. The hill close to Veerajenderpett and Moogoatgayray betta are the most remarkable; they are both steep, but low, the latter presents a precipitous rocky acclivity towards the west; there is a small Pagoda on its top; some few detached ranges are situated along the eastern boundary not however remarkable for either elevation, or extent; amongst them Seedaswar and Mawcull are the

most prominent, the former guards the pass, or rather woody defile that gives entrance to Codugu, and attracts attention, as being for some years the place of retreat of the adventurous chiefs of those wild regions. A Pagoda dedicated to Siva occupies the top of this hill

Of the mountains below the ghauts, the immense ridges connected with, and branching from them, form the principal ones. In the lower districts those chains descend with great steepness leaving a large space along the foot of the ghauts, one unvaried extent of precipitous hills, and impenetrable woods. The range lying on the southern boundary stretching from Tulla Cauvery to Purruthuddy betta is the most remarkable, presenting an uninterrupted ridge for the whole distance, having numerous minor branches running from it; of the few detached hills Buntamale, Kunneeyar Goota and Bulla naad are the most conspicuous, the former is the highest; they are however all comparatively low but very steep.

General observations as to the superficies and configuration.

From the above enumeration of the most prominent mountains, the general character of the superficies, and configuration of the country will be inferred; covered with chains of hills of equally various elevation as direction, its aspect is greatly diversified; but its general, and almost invariable features are ruggedness. The whole of the western portion of the upper country lying in the vicinity of the range of ghauts is abrupt, and mountainous: quitting this Alpine tract, and approaching the eastward, the various ramifications of those hills, loose themselves in the steep low ridges which insensibly subside in the undulating slopes of the most eastern parts, the aspect of Yailsowra is of this waving nature, and though not immediately flat, has a much larger portion of plain than any other part of the country. Descending the ghauts, whose mountainous wall gives the upper country the appearance of an immense terrace; we find the superficies of the lower districts equally marked by those rugged asperities, that distinguish the more elevated tract; quitting those lofty ridges that descend from the range of ghauts, the higher acclivities give way to eminences of lesser magnitude which gradually sink into steep but low slopes infinitely varied as to shape, and extent, those again are lost in the gentle un-

Those larger divisions formed for the purpose of civil administration have at different periods been modified or altered, as caprice or convenience may have dictated, the smaller component parts which form them, are the ancient partitions of the country.

A talook consists of any indefinite number of naads, this being the next smallest territorial division, it is again subdivided into gramas, and those into magunies, * which are still further separated into wurgas, this last name denoting the fields or estate of the husbandman or occupant.

The term naad pronounced sometimes *narrh*, is general throughout the more southern parts of this range of ghauts, and much used in Malabar, but scarcely known towards the northward of Codugu; this denomination means district generally, but sometimes country (as Wynaad &c.) the divisions of the talooks of the lower country are arranged exactly after a similar manner with those just mentioned, their denominations however having some difference, the term magunnie being substituted for that of naad, which it resembles in every other particular.

The lesser divisions of Yailsowra are denominated hobelys, this is similar but generally smaller than the magunnie and naad;

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* It will be perceived that the two smaller divisions here mentioned, are not inserted on the map, or registered in the list of villages, anxious to obtain those particulars, frequent applications were made for them but without success, the native authorities evincing the most unaccountable solicitude to conceal them. Indeed, however strange it may appear, it required the utmost exertion to obtain the list now given. On the first commencement of the work every attempt was made to mislead the Surveyors in this particular and nothing but the most distinct assurances that such a proceding must necessarily put an immediate stop to the undertaking could produce an alteration in the conduct that had been observed. After a considerable period of delay and prevarication, a register of the whole of the villages and other divisions was at length procured from the Cutcherrie, the omission of the smaller names being pointed out, was met by the assurance (so entirely unfounded, that those using it must have been quite indifferent as to the expectation of belief) that the list which had been furnished contained every particular that could be given, and such precautions were taken, that it was impossible to learn those names which were withheld, as the Inhabitants had particular instructions not to inform the Surveyors.

Nunjarajputtun has no intermediate subdivision, it consisting merely of the naad and its gramas.

The divisions of Poottoor it may be perceived, are rather intricate, this arises from the circumstance of their having undergone some alterations subsequent to the transfer, * the small magunnies noted as forming the four large ones which compose the talook are some of the ancient divisions which though now recognized by the people, are not used in the administration of the country.

The magunnie of Soobramuhni exists in a very detached shape this orignates in the villages forming it, having at one period being held in Inam by the celebrated Pagoda of that name.

In the districts below the ghauts, it will be observed that an insulated portion of the Company's territory is included within the Codugu boundary, this consists of some estates which though within the limits of the country transferred by the Company in 1804, were specially stated as forming no part of that which had been ceded; particular reasons doubtless must have influenced this arrangement, no information however has been acquired, as to the exact motives that caused the disposition thus made; there are a few other places, sometimes only fields, coming within the Codugu limits; no inconvenience however has been found to result from this intermixture of country.

The boundaries of the interior subdivisions are mostly arbitrary and facticious, in many instances however it will be seen that they occasionally follow the course of the large streams and ridges, but as a general remark, they have but little reference to natural limits.

No system of territorial partition could be simpler or more complete, it presenting a regular series of subordination requiring nothing to perfect it, there is however a great irregularity in the areas of the different divisions, but we are not in possession of the motives that guided the partition of the country into those several parts, it is diffi-

* The portion of country ceded by the British Government to the Codugu Prince in 1804 was severed from the Canara collectorate.

cult to say, nor perhaps is it materially necessary to know, what cause may be assigned for this disproportion in the superficial extent of the various divisions.

Principal places, cusbas, market towns, &c.

In Codugu proper there can scarcely be said to be any large towns, the population is extremely scattered, the inhabitants living on the borders of the cultivated valleys, and universally in insulated dwellings distant from each other in proportion as the situation of their fields will conveniently admit of; and separated on an average little less than half or quarter of a mile asunder, the larger divisions have not in most instances a principal village, each naad however in every case has a cutcherrie the residence of the Shanaboge (or native Reveuue Officer) where the business of it is transacted.

Coadlypett.

The chief places in Yailsowra are Coadlypett and Sunnywarsuntay, the former of those is the capital, it is situated in the northern part, and in the hobly to which it gives its name, in this town is a cutcherrie, the residence of the Chief Officers of the district, it contains about 60 houses, and is a market place of some eminence, the fair held here on every Sunday being numerously attended ; it is also the seat of some little trade, the rice of the interior being here exchanged for the dry grains and cloths of Mysore &c., this traffic is principally in the hands of a few Sivabuctar merchants.

Sunnywarsuntay.

Sunnywarsuntay as the name implies, is the place where Saturday's market is held, it is in Bulla hobely, and situated immediately in the large road which crosses this narrow neck of land, it consists of but a few huts and a cutcherie for the purpose of collecting the sayer duties, which from the local circumstances of the road are very considerable ; the market is a place of great resort, its central situation rendering it particularly well adapted for the purposes of traffic.

Ramapoora or Ramasamy cunnawey.

The next place of consideration is Ramapoora or as its more generally called Ramasamy cunnawey, this is situated on the bank of the Cauvery in the southern part of Nunjarajputtun naad—there is no

town here, it consisting of a few wretched scattered huts not deserving that appellation; this is the station of the cutcherie of the District, and is a market place of considerable importance, the fair occurs on a Wednesday, and generally attracts a large concourse of people; bordering the confines of both countries, and on a principal road it engrosses all the trade of the adjoining parts, this being the principal place from which the rice of the neighbouring districts is exported.

Soamwarpett. Soamwarpett is the next town that claims attention; a market is held here on Monday, it is well supplied and numerously frequented, the place itself however though dignified by the appellation of petta is of but little consequence consisting of only about 30 indifferent houses.

Muddukayray. Muddukayray the capital of this mountainous principality, is situated in the midst of the hills and somewhat in a central position, it seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access; and this feeling appears common to most Indian Highland Chiefs, as they are found invarially to fix on (as if to render security more secure) the deepest recesses of their Alpine retreats for a place of residence; Muddukayray we are informed was fixed on as the seat of Government by Doda Veerappa one of the early princes of Codugu; lying on the top of an elevated table it is nearly the highest inhabited land in the principality; its local position is extremely picturesque and beautiful, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills; it is situated in the small basin at their foot, and sheltered in some measure by them from the violence of the winds, to which its elevated site would expose it.

The town of Muddukayray is small and insignificant, it consists of a petta lying a short distance east of the fort, running in a long, and rather straggling line, which scarcely allows it the merit of regularity, some scattered houses, lie immediately close to the fort, the whole however, in both places, not amounting to more than 300; most of them of a wretched appearance, and few with the exterior of comfort, or cleanliness; The seat of no trade, or manufacture it owes its importance entirely to being the residence of the chief, and indeed, is principally inhabited by those belonging

immediately to his personal establishment. A market is held here every Friday, it is most abundantly supplied, and attracts a very large concourse of people, most of whom however belong to the country.

Veerajenderpett. Veerajenderpett is the largest, and it may be said the only town in Codugu, it is situated in the southern parts 16 miles S. E. of Muddukayray, and immediately on the communication between the Western coast and Mysore ; though a place of the greatest consequence in the country, it is of recent birth having been founded by the late Rajah about 25 years since.* Its first population consisted of those, whom he had in his predatory excursions swept away from Mysore; but principally of the inhabitants of Periapatam, who fled here for protection when that place was destroyed by the Sultan to prevent its falling into the hands of the British.

Veerajenderpett is a large straggling town containing about 500 houses, upwards of 200 of which belong to christains; they are however, almost all of a mean appearance, and although the whole permanent trade of the country is centered here, there are but few symptoms of either affluence, or growing prosperity: having no manufactures, its chief support must be in traffic, for this, its situation is particularly advantagous, fitting it in a great measure for being, a staple between Mysore and the Western coast, at present however it has not attained this desirable perogative; it is notwithstanding a mart of some consequence, and the fair which takes place here, every Friday, is the largest of the periodical markets held in the country ; all the produce of the southern parts is brought here for sale, also that of the districts in its vicinity, it being the principal place from which they are exported, the neighbouring inhabitants of Mysore resort here in great number. Rice is the chief article which they take away with them.

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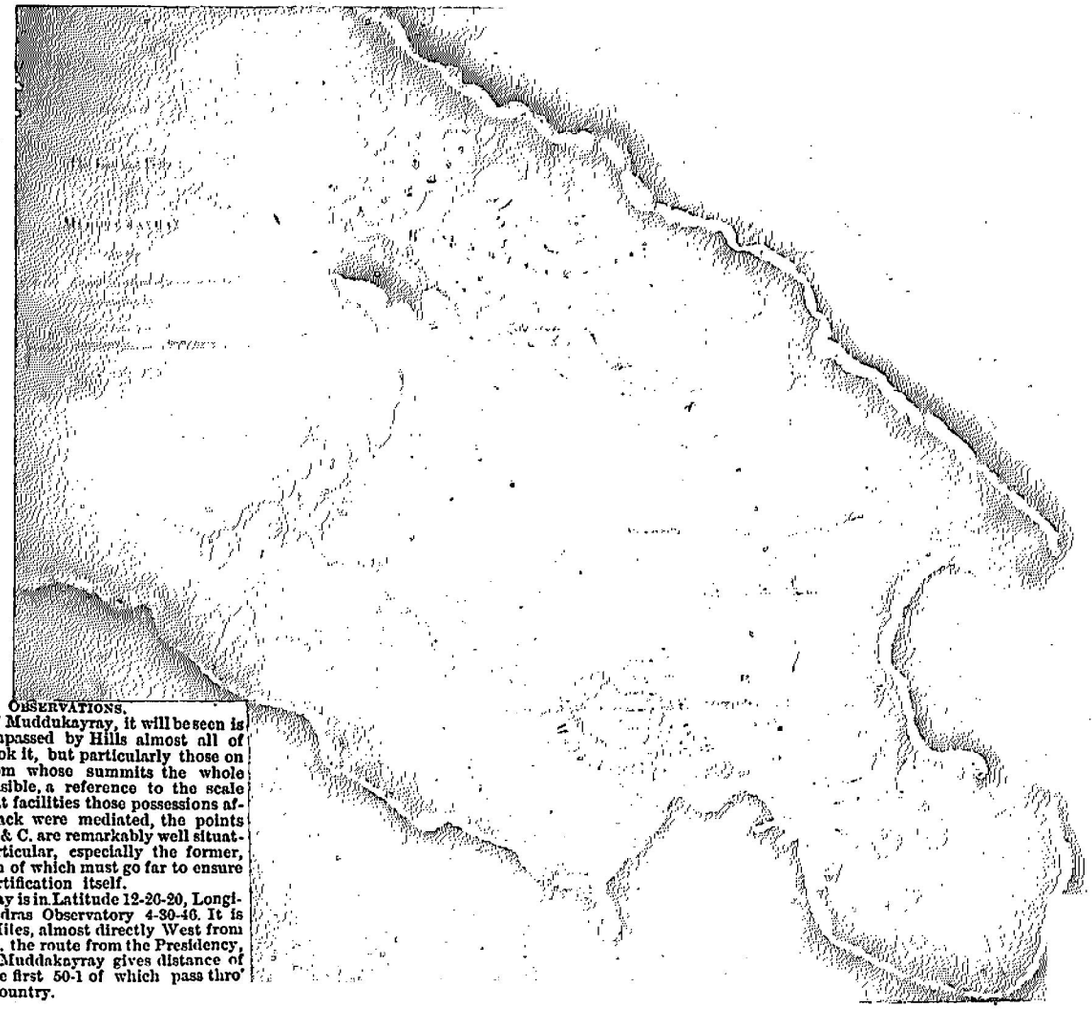
* It was established by Veerajender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between General Abercromby and himself during the war with Tippoo some time in the year 1792

Bágamundala. Bágamundala is the principal place of Thawu-naad, it is situated at the junction of the Cauvery and Kunnikay streams but owes its celebrity more to the Pagoda there than its size or trade, it consisting only of a few scattered houses.

Kiggutt naad. There is no town of any description in Kiggutt naad through which even the smaller villages are but thinly scattered. The cutcherie which is considered the chief place is in Ungigayray naad; the principal authorities of the district live at it.

Palaces. Besides Muddukayray there are three other Arrahmuhni, or palaces, the most remarkable is Naku naad, it was built by the late chief, and is now occupied by some branches of his family; the next is Gurrawully in Gudday naad where reside the descendants of the second brother; and lastly Hahlayray in the naad of that name. This was the residence of the present chief before his accession to power; the three palaces just mentioned are not remarkable either for extent, or elegance; the first is the largest, it is fortified after the native fashion by a strong wall with small round bastions at the angles; the circumference of this fortification is exceedingly limited, it is however surrounded by a very deep ditch, and high embankment, leaving a small open space between the inner walls, and this outer work; the approaches to it are guarded by various barriers, thus, making the whole comparatively strong; the other two have but little remarkable about them, they are after the plan of all other native houses, but well built upon a very large scale, and encompassed by breastworks, and the road leading to them secured by barriers. The lands in the immediate vicinity of those palaces are estates severally belonging to them.

Remarkable places below the ghauts. There are no other places worthy of notice above the ghauts, and below them there are but few of any consequence, indeed, none in Sooleay. Bullaree the capital of the magunnie of that name may deserve mention, as being a place of some small trade, the cutcherie here is the seat of the principal authorities of the district. Bedderholay, Neirrenuggurra, and Kullukah situated on the great road proceeding to Mangalore are each small towns consisting of, from 15 to 20



OBSERVATIONS.

The Fort of Muddukayray, it will be seen is nearly encompassed by Hills almost all of which overlook it, but particularly those on the South from whose summits the whole interior is visible, a reference to the scale will shew what facilities those possessions afford if an attack were mediated, the points marked A. B. & C. are remarkably well situated in this particular, especially the former, the occupation of which must go far to ensure that of the fortification itself.

Muddukayray is in Latitude 12-26-20, Longitude from Madras Observatory 4-30-46. It is situated 63¾ Miles, almost directly West from Seringapatam, the route from the Presidency, of Mysore to Muddukayray gives distance of 90-3 Miles, the first 50-1 of which pass thro' the former Country.

houses and in them centre the little traffic carried on in those parts.

Poottoor. Poottoor though the chief place of the talook has no petta, and is only remarkable for a large Pagoda, and being that where the principal cutcherie is stationed; Uddoor the capital magunnie of that name is situated exactly under similar circumstances.

The enumeration that has just been given, contains all those places that deserve any particular mention, it will not be necessary to state any further here the different places where cutcherries are situated.

The Table of Division and villages &c. shewing all information of this nature, and as it has been already observed, that, there are no particular cusbas to each of the minor districts, it will be understood that those offices are the chief places of them.

Forts Droogs &c. The rugged aspect of the country fully answers all those purposes for which regular fortifications are designed, strong in its numerous fastnesses, it is almost everywhere fortified by nature, each hill, offers a new post, and thick woods present, a place at once for concealment and defence, thus guarded, it requires but little art to increase the obstacles which naturally oppose themselves, this has been done to an extent, that speaks forcibly the attachment of those mountaineers to their native wilds.

Fort of Muddukayray. Though for a long time the chief place in Codugu there was no fortification till the reign of the Sultan who erected the present one.

As a military post Muddukayray owes its strength entirely to its situation, the elevated table upon which it stands once surmounted, all difficulties may be considered as overcome, encompassed by a circle of hills the approach is everywhere difficult, it is shut in by 4 gates each commanding the heads of the only passes that give access to it*, those ghauts are generally steep and broken, and

* *Vide* series of Routes.

the approach to them naturally rugged, can be otherwise variously obstructed; strong from their position, occupied by a small number of men, and defended with any ordinary share of resolution, they could not be forced without considerable loss to the assailants. The south ghaut is comparatively short being little more then half a mile, the road is very steep, but good, and partially free from forests; the ascent of those on the east and west is considerably longer, and more rugged, and both are enveloped in thick woods; that on the north is much the best pass, both as to length and ascent, indeed, the extent and acclivity of it is comparatively trifling, the entrance to those passes is flanked by a deep ditch, the gates however at the head of each are weak, and could be readily forced, none of them could resist a petard.

Tippoo, as has already been said, built the present fort of Muddukayray, doubtless for the purpose of securing more effectually his conquests, and agreeably to his system of nomenclature, he set aside the Hindoo name, substituting in its place the Moslem appellation of Zufferabad; he displayed but an indifferent judgement in fixing on the site of the fort, as it is completely commanded on the west, the small hills in that direction quite overlooking it. It is situated on the summit of a low top, and has a rather steep acclivity for about half its circumference, the remaining part, that is, the north and west has a gentle ascent, and on this account must be deemed the weakest. The figure of the fort is irregular, and its walls in few instances conform to the scarp of the hill. The ramparts (on which no guns are mounted) are about 8 feet thick and nearly 20 high, the parapets however are only about one fourth that breadth, the whole is strongly built of stone and mortar, it is surrounded by a ditch which in point of breadth and depth, is not of sufficient magnitude to offer any material impediment, there is a very large space between the foot of the wall, and its scarp nearly 30 feet; the entrance is on the south, and like most native fortifications it is intricate, and circuitous, close to it and immediately under the walls are some of the Public Offices, they are built upon an elevated platform (surrounded by a slight parapet) to which a neat ornamental gate gives access, those buildings (in a military point of view) greatly encumber the entrance of the fort, and materially increase the faci-

lities of its capture the whole is in excellent order and preserved with much care. Its regular garrison consists of 300 Codugus, who are relieved agreeable to the ordinary routine at the expiration of every 15 days. The interior space is occupied entirely by the Palace, and the offices belonging to it. It is inhabited alone by the Rajah and his suite, indeed the whole may merit the designation of a fortified castle more perhaps than a fortress.

* From the above description it will be seen that this fort is evidently, but little calculated for defence. Capable of containing but a small number of men; constructed without art, and so completely commanded by the hills in its neighbourhood, it could make no resistance against bombs, or even canon of a small calibre; the nature of the ground would leave a choice in conducting the attack, and indeed, there would scarcely appear to be much necessity for those preparations, as it seems quite capable of being taken by a *coup-de-main*. A well directed escalade (the assailants having shelter in most places till reaching the foot of the walls) could not fail of being attended with complete success.

With the exception of Muddukayray there is no regular fortification of any kind in the country; the hilly nature however of it presents innumerable places, that could be readily rendered defensible, and which might easily be concealed amidst those almost impenetrable abodes. All native chiefs are fond of having some stronghold to which they might retire in the last extremity, and though there is every reason to believe, no such now exists here, the country in the vicinity of the ghauts offers numerous points, where a retreat of this nature could be easily formed.

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* A disinclination to increase the feelings of suspicion which were evidently entertained by the Rajah, prevented a survey of the Fort being taken after the manner that could be desired—that is on a very large scale, and by absolute measurement with the chain—such a proceeding however, would have produced considerable uneasiness, nor would the attainment of this object be accompanied by any adequate advantage, it was therefore considered prudent to waive any measurement of this nature. The accompanying plan however exhibits a survey of the Fort and the surrounding country. It is done after the usual manner and on an enlarged scale, this sketch together with the description given, it is hoped will convey every desirable information on the subject.

Cuddungs or Breast works.

The breast works here called cuddungs which are seen in almost every part of the upper country, afford a singular instance of the indefatigable perseverance, with which those highlanders toiled to secure the possession of their hills, those monuments of their exertions are said to be of ancient date, and the large forest with which they are mostly overgrown, would entitle us to come to such a conclusion, the great distances to which they stretch, the steep acclivites they ascend, and the high ridges they surmount, cannot fail to impress a feeling of wonder, at the immense labor, that must have been required in the formation of them, those lines presenting a similar front almost always looking towards the surrounding countries, the exact conformity of their construction, and the solidity with which they have been made, their situation, running along the crests of the hills in the more mountainous parts, and in the comparatively flat country towards the eastern borders in most cases flanking the roads, all combined to impress a conviction that they have been formed as it evidently would appear for the purposes of defence. Such doubtless has been their general destination. The change of manners and habits leaves us in obscurity as to particulars. No immediate connection as a whole can be traced; as they pass along the tops of ridges or over slopes for considerable distances, never assuming any distinct figure, but always conforming themselves to the inequalities of the ground and terminate abruptly in the woods; it may however be generally observed that they occupy the most exposed places, the forest being in itself considered a sufficient defence, they are frequently seen in small insulated portions, for which it is not easy to account. It will be seen that they are uncommonly numerous on the road to Bagamundla from Mudukkayray, the necessity of so many defies conjecture, they may however suggest the question, whether they owe their rise to intestine feuds or foreign wars. A portion of those defences have resisted the effects of time being still in tolerable repair, and from what is left, some idea of the original design may be formed; as Military works however they are nearly useless, their great length rendering it impossible to defend their whole extent.

The situation and course of the principal cuddungs have been marked on the map, innumerable others are everywhere to be met

with but are now too imperfect to be traced.

Defences of the Roads

The care taken to secure the passage of the great roads, and even to barricade the smaller paths, adds another proof of the solicitude with which the Codugus guard all approaches to their mountains; similar apprehensions suggest in most instances the same precautions. All mountainous Rajahs are remarkable for rendering the access to their possessions as difficult as possible, it appears a part of the policy of the authorities here, to limit the greater communications to as small a number as is at all practicable, and to impede the few there are, by innumerable barriers. Many of the roads are studiously lengthened, that for instance leading from Mysore to Mudukayray is remarkable for the unnecessary circuity of its route, all are narrow and rugged and difficult, the breast works that intersect them are formed of a deep ditch, and high bank; a reference to the routes will shew, the number and situation of those stockades, and exhibit in minute detail the general character of the communications with, and through the country, as also the various obstacles that are to be encountered on them.

Villages and Towns

There can scarcely be said to be any towns in Codugu.

Unlike the open country, the villages of Codugu (with the exception of Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun) consists of detached habitations extending along the narrow valleys that wind at the foot of the high grounds, and an indefinite number of those cultivated glens have the collective designation of grama, which may be translated canton or township to which it has a considerable resemblance; this is divided into several minute portions termed mouzas, muzeras &c., which are considered dependencies of it; the lands belonging to the grama, are marked by a well defined boundary. In Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun the villages are arranged on a different system, being in those districts in a more collected form, their arable grounds lying immediately contiguous to them.

It will not be required here to describe the internal economy of the village administration, the arrangement common throughout

1031

the western coast appears equally to prevail on the whole of that mountainous tract, occupying the immediate summits of the ghauts, such at least is the case throughout Codugu; the number and occupation of the officers belonging to the village establishment, differing in no particular, and the same admirable system as to the government of the little community can be traced in every instance. The accompanying Register will be found to contain a list of all the interior divisions of the country, also of the villages belonging to them, exhibiting at the same time the actual position of each from the nearest Trignometrical station.*

Waters &c. Codugu enjoys all the abundance of water consequent to a hilly, and well wooded country. The rich garb of forests which clothes almost its whole surface, retains a humidity that produces a luxuriant form of trees, and herbaceous plants, which brings to recollection the florid vegetation of more temperate climates. It is every where furrowed with rivulets, and traversed with numerous smaller streams branching from them, those generally have a constant supply of water, the more hilly parts are highly salubrious, and water for irrigation, or domestic purposes is generally plentifully afforded. Wells are uncommon, nor indeed are they at all necessary. Yailsowra and the flatter parts of the eastern boundary are not so happily situated in this particular, but neither are remarkable for any striking deficiency.

The lower country is also furnished profusely with this important element; springs descending from the higher grounds diffuse a freshness and vegetation, in all the numerous little valleys through which they shape their course, those parts in which the arreca plantations are numerous, enjoy an abundant share of this necessary article, indeed, there is sufficient for the irrigation necessary for a second crop in every part of the lower districts, and occasionally enough to mature a third; it is however only the deep narrow glens occupied by the arable lands, that are thus favored, the high grounds with the exception of the woody parts of Scoleeay bordering the foot of the ghauts are for the greatest part of the year parched, arid, and quite

* *Vide.* appendix No. 1

devoid of vegetation. The whole of Poottoor presenting one extent of naked rock on which are seen only a few verdant shrubs to vary its painful uniformity; the rainy season, being the only period in which the elevated lands throughout those parts, assume a more verdant appearance.

Rivers &c.

The waters of Codugu divided by the ridge of ghauts fall into the sea washing both coasts of the Peninsula, those of the upper country flowing into the Bay of Bengal, while those of the lower districts, are lost in the Indian Ocean.

It may generally be observed that none of the rivers of Codugu are considerable, either as to breadth, or depth; their supply of water however is everywhere generally abundant and constant, their sources lying so elevated, added to the steep declivity of the country, impels their streams with a rather rapid course, they are with the exception of the Coomardarray not navigable, and almost wholly useless for transport of any kind, except when swelled by the periodical rains, during the continuance of which, rafts might be used on them.

The inequalities of the country through which those rivers shape their course, and the general height and steepness of their banks, (which they are not subject to overflow) necessarily precludes the possibility of their promoting culture by a diffusion of their waters; there are no works, or anicuts of any description on them, the numerous subordinate rivulets answering all the purposes of artificial irrigation*.

The whole of the minor streams intersecting Codugu vary only particularly in size, their general characteristics (a rather deep and rugged bed, through which alternately flows a shallow rivulet, or

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* Close to the village of Hanugoad beyond the Codugu frontier in Mysore there is an anicut across the Letchmun Tirut, there is also one across the Cauvery at some distance below the village of Sayrungarel, this however is also in Mysore.

1033

rushes a tempestuous torrent, as influenced by the seasons) being in most other instances quite similar.

It may here be observed that the rivers both below, and above the ghauts in Codugu, begin to swell in the early part of June, and flow with a violent, and boisterous rapidity till October, when their streams become more placid. The excessive and continued rains common amongst those hills for the intervening months will readily account for the immense body of water, that during their continuance forces its passage even by the smallest rivulets, which widen into torrents, and subsiding with the course, leaves an immense chasm, that is but partially occupied by the stream during the other parts of the year,

Cauvery

Codugu proper gives birth to the Cauvery and two principal streams tributary to it, the Sornawutty on the north and Letchmun Tirut on the south, the former running for its whole extent within the country joining it, at the village of Coodigaig (on the boundary), the latter continuing its course for some distance through Mysore, and fertilizing the districts on its borders unites with the parent stream.

The rivers of Hindoostan, doubtless from their beneficial effects, are supposed to be the offspring of some divinity, and their rise and confluence held in religious veneration by the Hindoos; each river has its parent deity, and a wild and fanciful polytheism makes them the scene of some remarkable events connected with their theological History.

The source of the Cauvery does not fail to attract the devotion of the pious, it issues from amidst the recesses of the Western ghauts, and the spring from which it takes its rise is fabled to have been a Nymph of exquisite beauty, the daughter of one of the seven Rishees who while performing Tupysa (or penitential devotion) dissolved into the little fountain which now yields its modest, and distant tribute to the ocean. Immediately on passing Bagamundla it is joined by the Kunniky the Naiad of whose stream is like her sister Goddess the subject of a romantic fiction.

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Ishwara is worshipped at the source of this river, his temple however is exceedingly small and mean, indeed the place altogether owes its celebrity to its sanctity, and must rest its claim to distinction on its intrinsic excellence, entirely devoid of architectural grandeur. If the weary devotee forms his expectations from the splendid edifices of Benares or Juggernaut, or the numberless other holy places in making the pilgrimage of which this forms a stage, he will be disappointed.

No remnants of antiquity decorate this interesting spot; the sacred spring is in the form of a reservoir of about 10 feet square, and 2 deep, it is enclosed amidst mountains(those in its immediate vicinity are dedicated to the seven patriarchs) and is surrounded by wild and picturesque scenery. The road from Bagamundla is nearly 3 miles, winding gently among the heights, but has none of those monuments on it that frequently adorn the avenue leading to any remarkable place of worship—There are 3 temples immediately at the junction of the Cauvery and Kunniky, they are dedicated to the Hindoo triad; those edifices though considerably more elegant then that above, merit but little attention. The sungam or point of confluence is reckoned holy, although of greatly inferior efficacy to the source.

Tulla Cauvery ranking high among the places of religious sanctity, devotees of all descriptions constantly resort to it, either in the fulfillment of some vow to propitiate the deity, or in the ordinary course of their pilgrimage; but at the Jatra, or annual festival which takes place in September, the concourse is said to be from 5 to 6000 and from all parts the superstition is stated to be of a profitable nature, each pilgrim as he bathes in the Holy Fountain places a piece of money in it, and those votive offerings are carefully transferred from the Treasury of the deity to that of the Circar—a great liberality however is shewn to all whom purposes of devotion may have brought to the celebrated fair, as they are fed for the whole, or large part of the period they may remain.

*The Cauvery may be considered from its length, and the volume

* The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to the Cauvery is 426 ¼ square miles.

1035

of waters which it carries to the sea, as one of the principal rivers of the Peninsula,it pursues a course of nearly 400 miles, and after fertilizing Tangou disembogues between Negapatam and Tranquebar, mingling its waters with those of the Bay of Bengal. The course of this fine river through Codugu is very tortuous, and its banks are overgrown mostly with a stately forest, which for the greatest part of its whole extent overhangs its borders, they are universally of a rich clay or mould, and every where sufficiently high (on an average nearly about 15 or 20 feet) and steep if not precipitous, as to render their ascent difficult,the general breadth of the river is liable to some varieties, but it imperceptibly increases from its source, its extreme width at the point of departure being about ½ of a mile, the bed over which it flows differs in various places being occasionally sandy, pebbly and rocky; the latter feature may however be considered as the most pre-dominant, and consequently is subject to great irregularities of surface. The established passages over the Cauvery are exceedingly limited during the dry months, there is only about 3½ feet water where it is usually crossed, the river however is not generally fordable even at this season, its depth throughout being extremely unequal varying almost every furlong, but in most parts of the latter 20 miles, it is of sufficient depth to render boats (except in a very few places) at all times necessary. The river forms a strong barrier, and well fitted for defence, the roads leading to the passage of it are stockaded, and could not be forced without some difficulty. The Cauvery from November to the end of May has a rather lovely stream,and a considerable body of water when the vicinity of its source is considered—immediately in the neighbourhood of it, the smallest depth may be 2 or 2½ feet,but the greater portion is much beyond this; for the remaining part of the year it assumes the restless impetuosity of a torrent, and during this period is possible to be forded from a short distance west of Bagamungalum

Soornawutty.

*A branch of the Soornawatty issues from the table land on which Muddukayray is situated; its waters however chiefly flow from Cotta Betta, and the numerous mountainous ridges, and minor heights that run in every direction from this immense hill,it will not be desired parti-

* The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to the Soornawutty is 256½ square miles.

cularly to enumerate the countless rivulets that contribute to swell this fine stream, as they offer no exception to the general observations that have been made, their course from the rugged nature of the country is extremely winding, their banks are of clay overgrown with jungle often steep, not unfrequently rugged, and passed with difficulty except at established fords; their beds are generally stony, and their breadth variable—not however very considerable—the flow of water varies with the season, during the rains it rolls rapidly along, but for the other parts of the year has a tranquil stream. The nullahs may be considered in most instances as perennial.

After passing the village of Gurgandoor, the Soornawutty joined by many of its tributary branches, begins to assume the appearance of a river; it is here about 400 feet broad, and increasing in size from the accession of the numerous streams on either bank, is nearly as large as the Cauvery at the point where it unites with it; leaving the village of Hahdagayray the banks of this river become rather high and steep, and thence continue so throughout, they are generally of clay, and during the latter part free from forest; its waters run over a bed, in most places rocky—their depth as has been said is influenced by the seasons; in the monsoons it has an impetuous tide, which after October gives way to a gentle stream, in the former instance it is not to be forded but during the latter period, is little more than 3 feet deep.

Doad Holay or Luchmun Tirut.

*The Doad Holay or Luchmun Tirut is the principal channel by which the waters of the southern parts are conveyed to the Cauvery; this river rises amongst the Burumagarry hills, its source situated at the foot of this ridge, is a place of pilgrimage, the little spring however that is the object of religious veneration, has nothing but its intrinsic sanctity, and the picturesque wildness of the surrounding scenery, that can recommend it to observation.

The Luchmun Tirut river runs but a very short distance through Codugu, nor is it in any place during its course remarkable for its size, the extreme breadth may be averaged at about 140 feet

* The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to Luchmun Tirut is 3121 ½ square miles.

1037

gradually decreasing of course as it approaches its rise; springing from so extended a range of mountains, and running through a country whose general character is woody, this river as will be inferred has a constant supply of water, like the others it varies in quantity, but when not filled by the rains, its depth, from where the small rivulets unite to form the larger stream, may be about 3 feet; it cannot be called fordable in the rains, but is so during the dry season, the steepness of the banks alone offering much impediment at this period—they are of clay and shaded by forest—the bottom is universally sandy.

The inconsiderable portion of the waters of upper Codugu that flow into the Indian Ocean, discharge themselves chiefly by means of the Burrapollay, a small river that passes into the lower country by a gradual descent through a deep chasm in the ghauts, which during the latter part of its course, forms a rocky wall on each side; it drains the waters of 192-12-64ths square miles.

There is nothing with regard to this river which is of sufficient consequence to require a specific mention; it has a constant flow of water, and, while in the upper country, a sandy bottom.

Burrapollay. The Burrapollay is a branch of the Brullypatam river, which falls into the sea at the town of that name, and is navigable for small craft as far as Illicoor a village on its banks, situated 16-6 miles from the foot of the ghauts.

Hemmawatty. * The Hemawattay is now the only river of consequence above the ghauts to be spoken of. It rises in the hilly parts of Bullum, and the waters of Codugu contribute but little to its stream. The Hemawatty passes for an inconsiderable distance along the northern boundary, its bottom is sandy, and its depth little more than 3 feet in the fair season, which is the only period it is fordable, the banks are steep, and like the other rivers in the interior, is incapable of irrigating the country on their borders.

Rivers below the Ghauts. The Noojeekul, or as it is otherwise known the Pruswunni river, descending from the ghauts that skirt the eastern border of the Sooleeay

* The space of country whose waters contribute immediately to the Himmawatty is 84½ square miles.

district, and the Coomardarry springing from the foot of the Soobramuhni hills,are the principal rivers that intersect the lower districts—the former disemboguing at Chundarghurray, and the latter falling into the sea at Mangalore.

The Pruswunnie river.

The union of the Sumpajee and Bullanaad Holay, (the point of confluence taking place at Payrahjee,) forms the Noogeekul, which having run for some miles, and being joined by various minor streams, during its course assumes the name of the Pruswunnie—this river flows through a country generally hilly,at least of a very irregular surface, and partially covered with forest, it enjoys consequently a large and never failing supply of water. Its stream from October to May glides tranquilly along, and may at this period be from 3 to 4 feet deep in those parts where it is passed, butin this particular its character is liable to much variety, and in most places it is of great depth, it is however only during the monsoon when its enlarged stream rushes with a restless impetuosity, that it is at all navigable, and is then only useful in floating timber by means of rafts—The tide affects it but a short distance from its mouth. The passages of this river are rather numerous; but it is not even in the dry season everywhere fordable, its breadth however is not great though it is tolerably uniform in this particular throughout, being where it quits the Codugu districts of about 400 feet, and in the higher parts 100 less.

The bed of the Pruswunnie is generally of a rocky character, and consequently very unequal in its surface,its banks are rather high and steep after passing Payrahjee; approaching the sea however they become gentler, and much less precipitous, they are throughout of clay but though low, the waving nature of the country on their borders renders it impossible for the waters of this river to be of any use in promoting cultivation.

Coomardarry.

The Coomardarry being the northern boundary dividing the lower districts from North Canara, is but partly formed from the waters of Codugu. In most material points its character is quite similar to that of the Pruswunnie, its banks however are not remarkable for height during the early part of its course, but they increase in this particular as they approach the sea. It passes through a rather rugged but well

1039

cultivated country, the low steep hills that cover its surface generally run close to the river, its banks consequently are incapable of being rendered subservient to agricultural purposes, the flow of water is always considerable,the depth in the higher parts may be about 2 feet which gradually increases to 3 and 4 where it branches off from Codugu; it is crossed in numerous places but is not generally fordable in the dry season, and during the wet, the force and velocity of the stream renders a passage of it impossible except in boats. The bed is partially rocky, its breadth at its extreme points may be from one to seven hundred feet.

The village of Oopin-Ungadday is situated where the Coomardarry and Nettrawutti meet; from the point of confluence the united streams assume the latter name, and pursuing their course to Mangalorè, form one of the finest of the numerous rivers that intersect this coast, it increases considerably in breadth, and when near its mouth spreads into a beautiful Bay. The Nettrawutti though useless for purposes of irrigation is of infinite service for those of commerce, it is navigable for small craft to a short distance beyond Oopin-Ungadday, and from the commercial town of Buntawalla on its northern bank for boats of considerable size, the influence of the tide reaching to this place.

Irruday Holay.

The Irruday Holay is characterized by all those particulars, that mark the two rivers last spoken of, it however is smaller than either being at the point of departure only about 250 feet broad; its flow of water is abundant and perennial.*

A view of the map will show the minor streams that contribute to the principal ones of the lower districts, it would be an unnecessary repetition to give a specific account of each,as they cannot be said to have any peculiarities that render them an exception to the general character which has been given of such secondary channels.

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* On the bank of this river close to the village of Irruday (and belonging to the Company) is a hot spring, immediately in its vicinity in the bed of the river also issues one or two small streams of a similar temperature. An account of this spring will be found given.

Lakes, Tanks, Reservoirs &c.

Throughout Codugu there is not a lake or reservoir of any kind meriting particular observation; in the more hilly parts such are quite unnecessary, and consequently unknown. Yailsowra and some parts of Kiggutt naad, are the only places where tanks are to be found, and they are exceedingly dimunitive in point of size, the largest not exceeding at the utmost one quarter of a mile square, and but very few reach to this area; they are all for the purposes of irrigation, and contain for most part of the year a small quantity of water—there is nothing with regard to those reservoirs of sufficient consequence to deserve any further notice—if they are at all remarkable for any thing, it is for the numerous quantity of wild fowl,—principally ducks and teel—with which they are covered for a few months subsequent to the rainy season.

Forests, Woods, Jungles, &c.

The whole of Codugu proper is clothed with stately forest, it is however the declivities of the ghauts where the trees attain their greatest magnitude, this stupendous ridge which though steep is neither broken or rocky, and is everywhere covered with a rich stratum of mould, brings to maturity timber of a prodigious size; a large portion of the eastern boundary presents a wide extent of forest, but though by no means of scanty growth, it is comparatively so, with that which shades this chain of mountains. Bamboos in all their varieties compose a large part of interminable woods, and this most useful, and beautiful reed, is here found in the greatest excellence. The jungles are difficult to traverse; in many places the Rattan of various dimensions, and nearly of as good a quality as that brought from the eastern islands, together with the delicate reed from which the Hindoos make their pens, aided by unnumerable plants and creepers, not unfrequently forming an impervious underwood.

Such a vast assemblage of woods leaves a large scope open to the labors of the Botanist, and there can be no doubt his researches would be attended by results equally interesting, as the field of inquiry is novel and extended—to such must be left a scientific classification of the woods in Codugu, as a very general catalogue of the most common will only be here attempted.

Hulsiná, Jack, *(artocarpus)* extremely common in the upper

country both in the neigbourhood of the villages, and throughout the jungles. It grows to a large size—makes excellent planks.

Heb, Hulsina or Aginney. This is the wild Jack, grows in the thicker forests, and reaches a great height, its fruit though eatable is small and very unpalatable, it furnishes large and excellent beams and planks, when cut it has a light yellowish tinge, but after some time approaches the rich dark color of mahogany.

Maurie. Those stately Palms grow in great quantities on the sides of the ghauts. The Elephant is partial to the leaves of their branches, and often destroys the trees for the purpose of getting at them. Toddy is extracted from them by a poor caste of people called Coodyer.

Wild Arreca. This tree is considerably smaller than the garden one, but in every other particular resembling it; it bears a small fruit, which is used as a substitute for the arreca nut amongst some of the lower classes; it splits with great ease, and is calculated for laths.

Arregee or Arringy. Produces large timber, and is useful in building: this is only common below the ghauts; the bark of this tree is turned to a useful purpose being carefully stripped off, and undergoing a slight preparation, it is manufactured into bags for transporting grain, and sometimes into cloths, continuing servicable for sometime.

Mangoe(*Mangifera.*) Grows to an immense size throughout the country, but its fruit is everywhere indifferent.

Tamarind This tree only thrives on the borders of the more open country. It is met with in the interior, but does not there produce fruit; in the absence of this necessary seasoning that of the Punnapooly is used.

Punnapooly. This is a beautiful tree, large, regular and elegant in its form, the fruit of it is something bigger than the Olive, shaped like it, excessively tart, and makes an excellent condiment. Oil is said to be sometimes extracted from its kernel.

Doopada (*Vateria indica.*) This is known as the Damer tree, from it exudes a gum much used in incense, it has a

beautiful foliage, and grows best in damped situations. The timber is of but little value.

Boolundy or Nandy. Attains a great height, its timber is useful in the coarser woodwork of buildings.

Chempay or Sumpagy. This tree is common throughout the upper country, it reaches a great stature, and produces excellent timber, there are two species of it, differing however not very materially; its wood is of a close grain easily worked, and capable of being put to many useful purposes, it makes good furniture, is used to great advantage in buildings, (affording large beams) and even in nicer workmanship, answering well for stocks of guns &c. This tree is frequently met with in the vicinity of religious temples as it produces that delicate flower with which the Images in them are adorned.

Kooloomy. Of great size, and useful in building.

Nayrula. Large and useful, the fruit is of a black color like the sloe, and is eaten; of the wood ploughs are sometimes made.

Baaga. Large but useless.

Ummay. Produces a small eatable berry having an agreeable flavor, is excellent firewood.

Bussaree. Ropes are sometimes made from the filaments of its barks, it has a rich foliage, affords excellent shelter from the sun, and is always found near choultries, and places of worship.

Kycoloo. The bark of this tree also furnishes ropes more flexible, and otherwise better than those manufactured from the former.

Beety or the Blk-wood tree. It is met in great size, and large quantities in the forest along the eastern boundary, it is good timber, but not used as such, being only generally cut for the purpose of making flambeaus for which it is well adopted from the quantity of oil it contains; it makes excellent ramrods.

1043

Noga. A large and beautful tree its wood is light, and from it is manufactured the Noga or yoke connecting the cattle employed on the plough—from this it takes its name.

Mutti (*Chuncoa Muttia.*) This tree is the native of a comparatively poor soil, it is found in the lower districts where it predominates: it is straight, grows to a great size, and affords excellent and durable planks and beams; from its bark is manufactured the best edible chunam, and the only kind here used, the process for making it is simple; the astringent qualities of its bark renders it useful in tanning.

Golee. Its bark makes good ropes.

Auladu or Banian-tree Too well known to require a character here.

Sauntee. Large but useless.

Siduee. Exceedingly large, and very hard, great quantities grow on the sides of the ghauts, it is said to be good timber.

Powillay. Small, and only fit for firewood.

Yaillundee. Small, produces an olive shaped fruit which has an agreeable flavour.

Pindy. Found principally below the ghauts, it is straight, and of great stature, its branches are very regular; this tree appears a species, if not actually what is called the Poon, and is extemely well adapted for mats, it produces an oleaginous fruit, which when dry is made into a kind of candle much used.

Siripauly Of great size, and in large quantities, its timber however is said not to be durable.

Cotapauly. A species of the former, its timber is soft and something like deal. Musical instruments are sometimes made from it.

Siripinni. Large, and straight, the bottom part entirely disencumbered of branches, it is well adapted for

masts—it is durable and good for every kind of woodwork.

Uttee, (wild fig tree.) The fruit is tasteless, and the timber of no use.

Mootagudda. The seed is used in medicine, the flower has a yellow temporary dye, the leaves used by the natives to eat their food from.

Baingay, (*Ficus Bengalensis.*) A beautiful but useless tree.

Huggunu. Tolerable timber—species of the gum tree.

Nirkooku. An immense tree, with a rich foliage, only grows in the vicinity of rivulets—is useless as timber.

Comuty.

Bullapauly. A species of the Siripauly from which it differs but little.

Allighinnu. A species of the Poon adapted for masts.

Gayru or Cudju Nut Tree. The wild Gayru grows to an immense size but is of no use.

Honnay, (*Peterocarpus Santalinus.*) A beautiful tree, and valuable timber.

Mallingooly. Large, and good, timber.

Hooleengee. Small; its wood is of a reddish color.

Tuddachella.
Cuddavaud.
Woodee.
Toopra. } Used as timber for the smaller houses, but principally as firewood.

Taygadu, (*Tectonagrandis* or teak tree.) This valuable tree is by no means common throughout the whole extent of the country—it is seen along the eastern border, but of no superior quality, or size—it is scarcely ever to be met with in the lower districts, or along the sides of the ghauts.

Dindagua (*Andersonia Punchmum*) A Gum tree, large size.

1045

Gubbiel. Small, the native of a poor soil; matches are made from its bark; stocks of guns, and ploughs from its wood.

Churuhonna. Of large size; canoes are made from its trunk.

Bellasindy. The wood furnishes strong beams which are used in the building of temples &c.

Caasurcunnu. Only to be met with below the ghauts; it is large and has a rich foliage. The fruit of this tree is globular as to shape, and about the size of an apple; it is of a most brilliant red color. To man it is poison; it is however readily eaten by cattle, and imparts an extremely bitter flavour to the milk of those cows which have fed on it.

Holuch, (Chuncoa Holivay.) Its timber is used for building.

Beddikary and Pavu Do. do. do.

Cumma. Used as firewood. Wild honey is collected from its branches.

Ticay (*Laurus Cassia*)

Palmira (*Borassus Habeliformis.*) This tree is only met in the western parts of the lower districts. Toddy is extracted from it; the native of a poor soil, it is no where to be found above the ghauts.

Fruit trees thrive very well, particularly the orange, citron, and lime, all of which are here found in great abundance, and of peculiar excellence.

Bamboo. This reed, so generally and extensively useful, forms a large part of the forests. Some few remarks as to its physiology may perhaps not be unacceptable.

This valuable plant grows in clumps, and is said to live for 60 or 80 years, it blossoms at the end of that period, and this state is known as the prelude to its dissolution, as the whole of the tree above ground subsequently withers and dies. The number of years to which the bamboo reaches is still questionable, as it does not seem yet known to what age the seedling will survive, and from this circumstance only

can the fact be known; the fixed residence of Europeans in India is perhaps not sufficiently long for any one individual to prove it by experience.

A curious fact in the history of this reed occurred a short time since in Wynaad; the ryots in that country having petitioned the Collector for some remission of their assessments, owing to the losses they had sustained from an extended portion of the bamboo forest having gone to seed, (their subsequent decay causing a considerable loss to those who had the privilege of disposing of them) so general was this decay that in the month of March 1817 passing through this district in the course of 11 miles, there was scarcely a bamboo tree to be seen in the extensive forest, through which the road ran, that was not either dead, dying, or in blossom. Clumps of all ages and size contiguous to, though distinct from, each other, were in a similar situation; the smaller clumps here mentioned were supposed to be shoots, which had risen from the larger ones.

From the above circumstances it would appear that, however immature, the dissolution was not the less certain, and the fact would evidently lead to the conclusion, that the parent tree and its offspring die together; this opinion is held by some Botanists,* and is one that would appear verified in some measure from the circumstances above mentioned; adopting the idea, we shall not be surprised at whole forests of bamboo decaying at the same period. As a further illustration of what has been said, it may be observed that in 1800 several young bamboo cuttings separated from the root of the larger tree, were planted in the garden of a gentleman, and throve luxuriantly, one of them blossomed in 1817, the experiment was again repeated in 1807, similar plants were put down and attained the usual size, 5 of them blossomed in 1816-17. It is conjectured that those shoots were separated from trees of different ages which died at the same period as their offspring. In the same garden with the above plants, were several bamboo trees which had been raised from seed in March 1817, they had attained their 14 years and were then in high health and vigour; part of those previous

* Mr. Knight.

1047

experiments being only made on shoots, the proofs arising from them are not fully satisfactory, the observations that have been offered, however may tend to aid enquiry as to obtaining a more distinct information with regard to the physiology of this most useful reed.

The above catalogue presents but an imperfect list of the trees to be found in Codugu; it would not be difficult to enlarge it, but as it contains the names of the most remarkable, it was not conceived desirable to swell it by any further additions.

Agrarams of Bramins, Polliums, &c.

Bramins so powerful and numerous in the neighbouring countries, never appear to have had any influence in Codugu, where the ecclesiastical class is exceedingly small; there are here consequently none of the agrarams which in most Hindoo estates, the pious credulity of the Chief confers upon that sacred order of men; they are numerous however in the districts below the ghauts, but as ryots, enjoying no privilege whatever beyond the other castes, indeed, there is no Hierarchy of any kind, and though the Chief is of the Sivabucter tribe the religious institutions belonging to his faith are confined to a very small number, and those but poorly endowed; a few insignificant mattams in Yailsowra, one at Mahdeopoor, and another at Maddukayray are the only establishments of this nature.

Jaghiers.

Estates held in Jaghier are numerous, but none of them reach to any great extent, it has been found impossible to learn such information regarding them as could enable their position and limits to be ascertained; it necessarily follows, that no minute details as to those particulars have been acquired; some general observations however will be found to have been made on them that may serve to convey some idea as to the tenure by which those possessions are held.

Punneeyás or Royal farms.

Some portion of the revenues of the Codugu Prince arises from personal estates or royal domains (designated Punneeyás) dispersed almost over every part of the country, the extensive landed property of which he is thus immediate proprietor, is of considerable value, and provides for one great source of expenditure.

The same unwillingness to communicate any intelligence that has just been a subject of regret, operated in preventing any distinct knowledge being acquired as to the number and extent of those estates. The accompanying catalogue will be found to exhibit the names of those which have been actually ascertained; there is but little reason to doubt however that a considerable portion still remain unknown, but without specific information no opinion can be hazarded as to their total amount; it is said to extend to twenty or twenty-four; the list now presented only includes those with regard to the existence of which there is no doubt whatever. The Estates are named after the village in which they are situated.

1. Nunjarajputtun.... In the Naad of that name, very large, and has an excellent garden in which is produced the best oranges in the country.
2. Kudgoadloo..... In the Naad of that name.
3. Hayrow. } In Kooyangerray Naad.
4. Hoodhoar. }
5. Sumpajee. } In Tawa Naad, small.
6. Currikay. }
7. Muddukayray.....The Fort and fields in its vicinity.
8. Niddugunnie.....In Muddukayary Naad.
9. Kuddumkul }
10. Kautoor. } In Sooleeay Talook.
11. Bylhully. }
12. Bellioor. } In the Poottoor Talook.
13. Bullaree. }
14. Buddugayray.....In Hahlayray Naad.

The grounds in the immediate vicinity of the palaces in Hahlayray, Naku, and Gudday Naad, are also the personal estates of the Rajah.

The arrangement as to the management of these estates is not in all cases similar; they are however principally superintended by agents of the Chief,* stocked with his cattle, and tilled by his predial

* We find a considerable Revenue of the Rajah of Travancore drawn from personal estates, and this source of Revenue appears to have constituted a part of that, of all the petty chieftains throughout Malabar and Canara, and was known in Bednore.

1049

servants of whom he has a very considerable number. On the inhabitants of the district in which they are situated, is imposed the obligation of assisting either personally, or with a certain number of their servants, for a specific period at the time when the business of the Punneeya requires such additional aid.* The cultivation of these estates is conducted with great care, and the order in which the whole is preserved gives them something the appearance of English farms. On each are extensive offices and granaries kept with great neatness; the predial servants live in the vicinity, and an active Parputty maintains regularity, and secures industry; they have in many cases gardens and other plantations belonging to them, particularly cocoanuts, below the ghauts.

The Punneeyás are principally sown with rice, but sugarcane turmeric, ginger, saffron, and all kind of vegetables are grown on them. The produce of those estates chiefly goes to supply the household and maintain the numerous followers which the Chief supports; they are valuable as a revenue from their number and extent; their annual average produce in rice will be found stated in another place.

In some few instances the Punneeyás are occupied by ryots, who share equally the amount of their produce with the Prince—they being furnished by him with the implements and cattle necessary for the purpose of cultivation. This tenure (which does not hold with regard to those that have been mentioned) however is not so general as the system which has been just noticed, and it is only with some waste lands and inferior estates, that this mode of management is adopted.

Cattle, animals, &c.

These hills from the richness of their vegetation, the luxuriance of the forests, and the abundance of water with which the soil is supplied, would appear to point them out for pasturage; but neither the number, form, or size of the domesticated animals belonging to the country is such as would be expected from the above favorable circumstances; the length and violence of the rainy season however will in some measure account for the fact.

* Numerous feudal services of this nature are required from the Inhabitants, but I am not qualified to particularize all the instances.

Of domestic animals there are but few indeed, they may nearly be said to be limited to those of the cow and buffalo kind. The extreme violence of the rains destroys sheep of which there are consequently scarcely any; some few may be occasionally brought from Mysore, but the country is too hostile to their habits, to admit of their being bred within it; even the goat and ass the native of every climate, and adapting themselves to every change of temperature, though hardy, can scarcely survive the rainy season, and are consequently rarely to be met with; hogs are amongst the short list of their domestic animals, they are reared for purposes of food, but are not in any considerable numbers. Poultry are reared in some quantity—There are no horses, except those belonging to the Rajah, as the few wretched ponies, that are to be met with scarcely deserve to be classed as such; were it not for the long duration of the rains Codugu would appear a favorable place for breeding them.

Kine. The same inattention to the amelioration of the breed of cattle almost universal throughout this part of India is here equally remarkable; the rural economy of the Hindoo seems not yet to have attained this point; no attempts are ever made at improvement; the males, not emasculated till a late period, mix with the cows and propagate the same or more degenerate progeny.

The climate is said to be prejudicial to cattle of the cow kind, particularly in the more hilly parts where the extreme severity of the rains destroy those not native to the place.

Although it may be said they are rather numerous, they are rarely if ever exported, and cannot be viewed as an object of traffic, altho' some few are occasionally sent to the districts below the ghauts, but never into Mysore from whence indeed a small number of the better kind may even be imported.

The cattle common within those hills are more diminutive, and every way inferior to those reared in the open country of Mysore, and would appear a medium breed between those, and the dwarfish race of the western coast; the inferiority must for the greatest part be ascribable to the heavy rains which deluge these hills for near-

ly a third of the year. Nunjarajputtun and Yailsowra are somewhat better situated in this particular, and have a more improved breed. The cattle of Codugu however in general never rise above mediocrity; they are of gentle habits; a brown or black colour predominates, they have but a small hump, and a short thick but not coarse form, they possess some strength and are well calculated for the light plough in use; this however is the only labor that they can be well applied to, as their size renders them quite unfit for carriage of almost any kind; they are housed at night where they get a supply of straw, but are in other instances not tended with any particular attention. The ordinary price of a pair of oxen is 16 or 18 Rupees; a cow sells for seven.

The cow kind below the ghauts has degenerated quite to a pigmy standard; they are meagre, wretched animals, unfit for the road, being quite useless as beasts of burthen, and apparently even ill calculated for the common business of husbandry; it requires only an ordinary share of exertion to improve their condition; much however as the Hindoos venerate those animals, they cannot be said to treat them with a degree of tenderness, and care, in proportion to their superstitions. The cattle of the upper country when exported to that below are said soon to degenerate in these districts; the violence of the heat during more than half the year destroys the herbage, and in consequence cattle of every description are with difficulty supported; they are sometimes during this season fed on straw, but more generally on leaves (of the Uttee or wild fig tree in particular) which when boiled are mixed with the husks of rice and given them. With so few good qualities to recommend them, their value, as may readily be imagined, is not considerable, a cow and calf of the best description is sold for 6 Rupees, and a working ox rarely costs much more.

Buffaloes

The shade afforded by those jungles is favorable to rearing Buffaloes, and they consequently form a part of the stock of every cultivator; they are rather numerous in the more woody districts particularly in Kiggutt Naad, and generally in the southern parts, where the extensive uncultivated valleys, almost always in a marshy state, are quite congenial to the nature of those amphibious animals, they here attain a rather large

size, and the female yields nearly double the quantity of milk given by the cow. The male is well calculated for the purposes of husbandry especially in those agricultural operations that take place in the rainy seasons; he is seen sometimes yoked with the bullock, but does more labour, and lives longer, his age reaching from 12 to 15 years, during the greatest part of which be is capable of working; his general value may be from 16 to 23 or 24 Rupees. The Buffalo of these parts is of the usual color; he is a large bulky clumsy animal with long annulated horns, lying generally on the back of his neck, he is timid, stubborn, and vicious, not well calculated for carriage, from his unwieldy shape, slow movement, and inability to bear any heat.

The Buffalo below the ghauts differs in few particulars from the description just given, he is however smaller and more puny.

Wild animals.

The recesses of these deep and lofty forests give shelter to innumerable wild animals; indeed these woods in all probability contain a greater number than is to be found in any other part of the peninsula of similar extent; they appear like one immense menagerie, the inhabitants of which having deserted the neighbouring countries, here fixed their final abode; most of them however are familiarly known, and the few loose observations here made can add but little to the stock of Natural History.

Codugu seems particularly favorable to the increase of elephants, which are here equally abundant as in Ceylon, they are gregarious, keeping in droves from 15 to 30, even more, led by a principal who directs their movements: they inhabit indiscriminately all the woody parts, but particularly towards the eastern boundary, retreating into the thickest forests as the hot season advances; they are voracious, destroying plantations and crops, and it requires the utmost care and diligence to guard against their inroads; they frequently pass the Cauvery in large bodies (as they swim exceedingly well) and ravage the fields on its borders; they inhabit likewise the stately, and luxuriant forest, that covers the whole face of the ghauts, they are there very numerous, and frequently extend their depredations on the crops of the husbandmen as far as Punjee; when met in droves, they do not always attack the traveller (whose apprehensions however sal-

1053

dom allow him to proceed alone) but encountered singly the utmost danger is to be apprehended; these solitary ones are supposed to have been driven from the herd, to which they dare not return, and in consequence become furious in the highest degree; the mode of taking them in kyddas, or folds, as in Bengal, and Ceylon, is unknown, they are always caught in kups or pits dug to a considerable depth, covered with a slight stage to conceal them, and placed immediately across the paths which the elephants are in the habit of frequenting; much care is necessary to disguise the snare thus laid, as these sagacious animals are known to be particularly acute in detecting it. A number of elephants for the supply of the Mysore Rajah are yearly caught on the boundary of the two countries close to Hanagode; so numerous are they in Codugu, that they are taken in almost every part of it. In taking them no other mode is practiced than that which has just been mentioned. If young they are easily tamed, but when arrived at a more mature age, a year; and sometimes two are necessary.

The elephants of Codugu are divided into two classes, the Dodda Ras, or large, the gidda Ras or small kind; (this latter is not remarkable for being particularly diminutive) distinguished however by no other peculiarities. They are not so valuable as those imported from Ceylon, being inferior in size, and less capable of work; it has been frequently observed, that these animals are less robust, and smaller as they recede from the sea coast, the natives here however do not admit that those from below the ghauts are stronger or bulkier, than those which are found in the country above; their tusks are generally speaking not large; some however are of very considerable dimensions, but in most cases, they make no approach in point of size to those coming from Africa, and I am led to believe, they are not often destroyed for the sake of them. The elephants are all considered the property of the Chief, and few other persons are allowed to possess them; they are never bred, and but little could be learned with any degree of certainty as to the general age to which they arrive, or any of the minuter parts of their natural history; these points are now however too well ascertained to render the absence of any further information on them a matter of much regret.

Tigers. Royal Tigers of the largest kind infest these woods in vast numbers, as also cheetas, and

leopards, less ferocious, and equally beautiful; these animals do not here commit much mischief, as the abundance of game which they meet in their haunts prevents them from preying on men and cattle —the civit, toddy, and tiger cat, the ounce, or small panther, and other animals of the feline species, are to be met with.

Bears. Bears are very common; they are large and always black, differing but little in size, and form from those of a colder climate; their flesh is good, and though not an unusual dish in some countries, is not here eaten; the bear is not carnivorous, feeding generally on white ants, wild honey, roots &c., his habits are comparatively gentle.

Wild Hogs of immense stature and strength abound, they are sometimes seen to attain the height of upwards of 3 feet.

The Sambre or Elk is still more numerous; they keep in herds and are found in great numbers along the bare tops of the ghauts; both these animals are greatly sought after by the natives, as they form the chief part of the animal food used by them; they are remarkably expert in destroying them. The sambre, when from under the shelter of the woods, is timid, and difficult to be approached; on such occasions the hunter covers himself with a blanket, and advancing on his hands and feet, approaches sufficiently near to shoot them. The red and spotted deer, also the antelope, are to be met with in equal abundance, but they generally inhabit the more open parts.

Kauteè or wild Buffalo. Large herds of these animals every where abound throughout the thicker forests; they would seem to bear a great resemblance to the Bison of naturalists. The kautee when very young is of a dark reddish hue, this however as he becomes older, gives way to the slate or ash colour of the domestic buffalo. The belly, legs, (as far as the knee joint,) breast and face, being however of a dirty whitish tinge; unlike the former the whole body is covered with long hair, particularly the dew-lap.

The wild and tame buffalo are evidently of the same species, varying only in those particulars, which are the results of their different modes of life; the former is remarkable for his greater strength, ferocity, and activity. The figure of this formidable animal is coarse

and clumsy, the forehead is extremely elevated, his horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp. They are remarkable for the uniformity of their curvature. The neck is extremely large and depressed, the withers have no hump, but are very high, and gradually sloping off, give to the hinder parts the appearance of being disproportionately low, and comparatively weak.

Not venerated like the cow, the kautee is killed without hesitation by the Codugus; its flesh however is eaten only by the very lowest classes; its horns are sometimes polished, and kept as ornaments, and the skin when tanned is occasionally made into shields; the wild buffalo is found on the highest hills, and though his habits appear less amphibious than the domestic one, he seems to dislike the sun and only emerges from the woods in the cooler parts of the day.

Kaymay. The kaymay is sometimes called the wildgoat but approaches nearer, to the goat antelope; it is a beautiful little animal, smaller, and if possible, more delicately formed than the deer, from which it only materially differs in the formation of the head, and structure of the horns: the latter are rather short, a little wreathed, and their roots for the first inch and a half are enveloped in hair; its cry something resembles that of the goat, and it doubtless has acquired for it the appellation it bears. It is killed by the natives, and is delicate meat.

Kennai or wild dog. Wild dogs are numerous throughout these hills, but it would not appear that they are peculiar to them; being known in Soanda and Bednore; they are also common amongst the Ramghur hills in Bengal, and met with in numbers along the banks of the Indus.

The kennais resemble the jackal, or rather something between it and the wolf, to which perhaps they make the nearest approach; they are larger, and more powerful, being remarkable for the strength of their jaws and neck, of a darker colour, and much more ferocious than the former; their voice resembles something of the barking of a dog; they associate in packs from ten to twenty, and thus united they will attack any beast of the forest. They kill the tiger, and

are said to be great enemies of the feline species in general; they are represented as excessively swift, never failing to catch what they once give chase to. On coming up with the object of their pursuit they invariably seize the animal by the genitals, or head; in the latter instance, immediately destroying the eyes, thus having once fixed themselves, they maintain their position sucking the blood of their unfortunate victim, and never quitting their hold till he has fallen from pain, or fatigue. The sambre, and various species of deer, are the principal animals they prey on; they are gregarious, living in societies from which it is said not to be uncommon to expel such members as may become obnoxious to them—death would be the penalty of his again returning to the herd. They are not considered as dangerous to man, and are never destroyed by the natives. The kennai is represented as never thoroughly to be tamed, and as languishing under confinement.

It would require a zoological history fully to describe all the animals of which these woods are the retreat; the slight notices here given, cannot much enlarge the knowledge of nature. It will not however be required further to mention, particularly, the long list of those yet remaining to be noticed. The most remarkable in the catalogue are the ant-eater, sloth, a beautiful kind of squirrel with a large and bushy tail (eaten by the Codugus,) the ferret, mungoose, armadilla, and all species of monkeys comprehending a most numerous tribe (said also to be eaten by those mountaineers) divided into various classes; amongst them the lion-tailed is the most remarkable, also the large black one sacred to Rama.

Reptiles do not particularly abound, nor are they remarkably noxious; the large forest snake (the boa of naturalists) is said to be common, but has not been met with. The feathered tribe are equally numerous, and various; but as they consist mostly of those known in the neighbouring countries, a list of them will not be considered necessary.

Not conversant in natural history, the above enumeration is necessarily loose and imperfect; in making it many doubtless have escaped notice, but there are none of them which are not already familiarly known.

1057

Remarkable buildings.

It is a curious circumstance that throughout Codugu proper, there is but one building (Mahdeopoor Mattam) of at all an ancient date that merits the slightest observation; the absence of any, that has the least claim to extent, elegance, or solidity is remarkable; the numerous temples for religious purposes are small, mean, and mostly built of clay, nor in the few there may be of the better kind, are there any of those sculptures that adorn the commonest buildings dedicated to the Deity in the neighbouring countries.

In the district below the ghauts, the pagodas at Uddoor and Poottoor are the most remarkable, as being elevated and spacious buildings, they are kept in good repair, both exactly similar, and erected after the manner common in Canara; the pagoda is enclosed within a square raised two stories high, and is covered with copper; it has a double roof (the lower projecting beyond the upper one)and is of an oval form; the other buildings devoted to similar purposes are numerous, but small, not remarkable for any particular sanctity, and quite unworthy of notice.

Mahdeopoor Mattam.

This is in the village of Jumboor N. E. of Muddukayray; it is the ancient cemetery of the Codugu family, and is prettily situated on the bank of a fine stream, it but has no claims to architectural merit. This building is about 40 feet square, nearly the same height, and stands on an elevated base; it consists of two stories, the one at bottom is the place of sepulture, the tomb being enclosed by a smaller apartment within the larger; the one above is open, the same size as the under room just mentioned, and is surrounded by a low balustrade; a large figure of Busswa sculptured in black granite decorates the lower apartment, and the same image adorns the capital of four small pillars placed on the top of the building at the different angles.

Mausoleum at Muddukayray.

The most remarkable modern building is the mausoleum of Verajender the late Rajah; within its walls repose the remains of this once active spirit, and his Ranee or Queen. It was erected by him but a short time

before his death, destined to be the monument of his posterity, this shrine has been transformed into a religious temple, and Veerajender canonized as a saint, or rather enrolled amongst the gods, has become the chief divinity, and is worshipped by his former subjects—admiration of his undaunted courage, and the rememberance of the gallantry, and conduct, that delivered them from a fierce and unrelenting enemy appears to have triumphed over the recollection of the various atrocities that marked the close of his life; indeed, from the character of Veerajender we should be inclined to infer, that he owed this apotheosis more to the clinquant and imposing qualities of the warrior, than the less brilliant, but more useful virtues of the ruler. The anniversary of this fane is celebrated at the festival of the Sivaratree occurring generally in Feburary, on this occasion a vast number of people collect to pay their worship to its deity, principally jungums; the extensive charity liberally dispensed in such instances may be supposed to quicken the zeal of those devotees.

The mausoleum is situated at the northern extremity of the petta, and enclosed by a high embankment; it is a square building, the length of the sides being about 50 feet, it is about 60 high and surmounted by a small neat dome, at the 4 angles rises a similar number of columns having the figure of a Busswa on each. The exterior is plain and neat; it is extremely well built, and kept with the utmost care and attention.

Palace.

The next remarkable building is the Palace; a structure of recent date, being erected by the present Prince; it is within the fort, of which it occupies a large part. This edifice consists of two stories, is lofty and spacious, and like most Hindoo buildings of this nature, covers a great extent of area. It is of a square form having a small court in the centre; three of its, sides present nearly a blank space varied only by a few apertures to admit the (air for they cannot be called windows). Considerable innovations however have been made in the architecture of the country with regard to the face of this structure, which is quite after the European fashion, presenting a very handsome front of about 110 feet long; a range of arches runs along the whole extent of the bottom part, the upper having a contiguous row of windows shut in by glass sashes and venetian blinds, a balustrade surmounting the whole. The front rooms are quite after the European manner, and visitors

1059

are received in an apartment the architecture and furniture of which differ in nothing from an English one; as to the interior arrangements they are doubtless more consonant to native ideas of excellence and comfort. The whole however is an exceedingly stately fabric presenting something greatly superior to most Hindoo palaces, being conceived and executed, after a much better taste than those Royal residences generally are; it is of brick and altogether finished with equal solidity, as elegance.

The house for the reception of travellers is but a short distance from the Fort, and in the midst of a plantation of Orange trees, it owes its erection to the gratitude of the late Rajah, whose attachment to the English is so well known. It is a handsome building consisting of two stories; the form that of a centre with four turrets at the angles; it is in every way after the European model, both as to architecture, and furniture, nor has any thing been forgotten necessary to render it quite complete in those particulars; a regular establishment of servants is kept up expressly for it, and every care taken to anticipate the wants, and provide for the convenience of the traveller, who is treated with the most liberal hospitality.

The few buildings that have just been noticed are the only ones at all deserving remark.

Mines, Minerals, Manufactures.

Mines are generally found in hilly countries, as such, Codugu it is probable contains some, a knowledge of which might perhaps reward the search of the curious, at present its minerals lie undisturbed in the bosom of the mountains that give them birth, their contents are unknown; it may be observed however that it is in those of a barren and sterile nature, that they are to be looked for, with greater certainty of success. All the metal utensils requisite for domestic or agricultural purposes are imported, and the inhabitants deny the existence of any mines, but such an assurance would deserve little credit, as, if they thought it was their interest to conceal them, no nice regard to truth could be expected. The soil however has not been observed to contain metallic particles, nor have any other circumstances that would indicate them been perceived. However questionable the existence of mines may be, there is every reason to believe none are worked.

Manufactures.

No town in Codugu can be said to be the seat of any manufacture, the feelings and habits of the aboriginies quite unfit them for inert and sedentary pursuits; manufacturing industry has made no progress amongst any part of the population. The labours of the inhabitants are directed to the business of agriculture, and they exchange the products of their soil for the manufactures of their neighbours.

Soil of the high grounds in Codugu proper.

From the situation and nature of the country a great variety in its soil necessarily will be inferred.

Trees indicating in some measure the nature, and quality of the soil on which they grow, that of Codugu proper covered by one continued forest must be considered of singular fertility; the soil of most of the low hills, and slopes is of a reddish firm earth with a slight gravelly mixture (occasionally a little stony) the luxuriant foliage and stature of the trees they produce is a sufficient assurance of their fecundity.

Of the large hills.

The large hills including the ridge forming the summits of the ghauts, the Brumagerray mountains, Cotay Betta and a few others are not so fortunate in this particular. Ascending from their foot, the soil becomes gradually more meagre, rough and stony as the top is approached, the summits of the greater part of these hills are devoid of wood, though not destitute of verdure, as a luxuriant pasturage (the resort of numberless wild animals) succeeds to the deep woods that encompass their base. The soil of these hills can in no place be called rocky, blocks of coarse granite are occasionally to be met with on them, but those immense tables of brick or indurated stone that forms so great an ingredient in the composition of the ghauts of the more northern parts, particularly those of Soanda, do not enter into the formation of that portion of them coming within this territory.

Of the high grounds in Yailsowra.

The soil of the higher grounds of Yailsowra consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs, and a tall thin grass.

1061

The western face of the ghauts.

Descending westward from the summit of these mountains, the soil undergoes some change, becoming of a darker hue and rather more permeable, it is highly fertile, nourishing a forest of immense stature. The stratum of earth is everywhere deep, and continues so without intermission to the foot of these hills.*

Soil of the valleys in Codugu proper.

The soil of the valleys in the upper country is liable to some varieties, that, of the northern and western parts of Codugu proper is a rich dark reddish clay quite devoid of any stony mixture, and remarkable for its powers of production; that of the more southern parts, particularly the Kigguttnaad talook, is of a darker color, sometimes approaching to black, having a slight mixture of sand, and nearly as remarkable for the force, and activity of its vegetation. The singular fecundity for which these parts are remarkable, may in some measure be attributed to the variety of rich vegetable matter, brought down by the torrents from the high grounds in the vicinity of the cultivated lands; to this annual supply may be added their situation, which, generally enchased in the midst of thick forests, are partially shaded by the trees which fringe their borders, which produce a temperature, and retain a moisture, eminently favorable to vegatation; the abundance of water consequent to a mountainous country producing a constant humidity, the lands retain their fertility undiminished, and crops are seldom known to fail.

In. Yailsowra, and Nunjarajputtun.

The cultivated lands of Yailsowra possess none of the fertility which characterizes that of the interior, the little barren slopes that border them are incapable of supporting any vegetable substance that could invigorate their soil, which is comparatively superficial and poor, when contrasted with that of the more woody districts; it partakes however, in common with the neighbouring country of Mysore of an ordinary share of fertility.

The above character is, in a great measure, applicable to Nun-

* There are no appearance of marine productions in the soil of the ghauts, nor indeed, in any part of the lower districts, that has come under my observation.

jarajputtun: towards this part of the eastern boundary, the luxuriance of the forest gradually ceases, and leaves this district champaign. The soil consists generally of a light friable earth, the aspect is similar to that of Mysore, and it is only calculated to produce the dry grain common to that country.

Soil below the ghauts.

The soil below the ghauts is greately diversified, but as a general character is infinitely less fertile, and more superficial than that of the upper country.

Of the high grounds.

Quitting the foot of the ghauts and advancing westward, the deep stratum of earth that covered their sides gives way to the lighter and more stony soil of Sooleeay. The high grounds in these districts have a great mixture of the brick stone rock in their composition (it occasionally appearing in large naked masses) and are everywhere covered with but a thin stratum of earth; the forests of those districts though thick, want the stature and luxuriance of the woods of Codugu proper, they chiefly consist of trees, the native of a meagre soil. Leaving Sooleeay and approaching the sea these woods become still scantier, and the trees and shurbs dwarfish, and stunted; the high swelling slopes assume the form of an elevated table whose surface presents nothing, but one vast sheet of brick stone rock, mostly destitute of soil, except the little that occupies the small crevices of it; this thin coat is rarely of sufficient depth to mature trees of any size.

Of the valleys.

The soil of the valleys resemble that of the more elevated parts, but is more rich, and loamy; that of the rice lands throughout the whole of the lower districts is remarked as decreasing in fertility as it recedes from the sea, the more western parts are consequently the best; the soil of the cultivated valleys of Poottoor is a light reddish colored earth of some depth, having however a substratum of the laterite, that of the valleys of Sooleeay is more superficial and permeable, it is however favorable for the growth of arreca plantations.

Crops above the ghauts.

In Codugu proper, rice is yielded in such lavish abundance by the first crop grown during the periodical rains, as generally speaking, to render a

1069

second quite unnecessary, particular spots being favorable to artificial irrigation may occasionally be cultivated a second time, but this is by no means common, and the instances are too few to render a particular exception necessary.

In Yailsowra.

In Yailsowra the narrow valleys in which the cultivation is formed are terraced to a considerable extent to admit of its being more enlarged, but it is the lower parts only that have a sufficient supply of water to admit of a second crop, which is always limited in extent, and scanty in produce.

Crops below the ghauts.

The whole of the rice lands below the ghauts yield two crops in the year, and sometimes even three; the steeps by which they are enclosed affording abundance of water for irrigation, the second crop of rice is not unfrequently followed by one of tobacco, dry grain, or some of the various leguminous plants common here.

Return in fold.

Circumstances would not admit of obtaining all those minute particulars, and statements, from which conclusive deduction could be drawn, as to the average return in fold, throughout the country. The observations, that have been made however enable it to be stated with confidence, that in most parts of Codugu proper (particularly the most woody) the general increase may be from 40 to 60 fold, and in extraordinary seasons, the average may approach much nearer a hundred; it would be difficult to imagine a more abundant return, or more highly favored soil.* In Yailsowra they generally reap on the best lands only from 20 to 25 fold, and from 15 to 20 on the betta fields. In Poottoor and about the most western parts, the quality of the ground some times varies, but the average (on the first sort of land) scarcely ever exceeds

* It is stated by Colonel Mahony (sometime resident in Codugu) that "an ordinary soil is said to make a return of 50 fold, increasing it as it improves, it reaches to the amount of a 100 in which latter description the country abounds,' I am inclined to believe that this return is much overated. Malabar only yields' from 10 to 30. The best arable land in England gives from 10 to 30. Scotland only from 10 to 15. The remarkable fertility of Egypt does not often exceed 50 fold.

25 or 28; approaching the ghauts it gradually becomes more scanty, and in Umr and Sooleeay it only re-pays the labor of cultivation by a return on the best lands of from 10 to 12, and often still less.

Productions of Codugu proper

The chief product of both the upper and lower country a rice; yielded in superfluity it is the principal export, particularly from Codugu proper.

Though well fitted from the soil of the higher grounds, (which has sufficient depth, and not too great a declivity to admit of cultivation) there is in the upper country, but a comparatively small portion of dry grain produced. Raggy so well adapted to the hilly country from the easiness of its culture, is grown only in comparatively small quantities amongst these mountains; tobacco, nuts, ellu and yerrinda *(Palma Christi)* plants cultivated for the purpose of making oil, some little huruli (or horse gram) are grown not however in sufficient abundance to prevent the necessity of importation.

Of Yailsowra and Nunjarajputtun.

Yailsowra principally produces rice; in it however, and Nunjarajputtun, are grown all the dry grains common to Mysore, (wheat is said to be produced in small quantities, but I have never met any) but by no means sufficient to supply the interior. The best tobacco comes from those districts, that of the more woody parts has the character of being indifferent. Yailsowra also produces a very little sugar-cane. Hemp may be added to the products of the upper country, but it is only grown on the worst soil, and in very small quantities.

Vegetable productions are grown in great variety and abundance, the upper country appears particularly favorable to the productions of esculent plants, also fruits, flowers, shrubs, and garden stuffs of every kind, indeed, the temperature and soil of the higher parts, seems well adapted to mature those of a colder climate. Of the fruits, the most remarkable are oranges of different descriptions, all of an excellent quality, they are exceedingly common, as are also limes of various species, citron of an immense size,

1065

pine apples,* pomegranates, pumplemose, jack, plantains, all in abundance, and of a most luxuriant growth; the other fruits common in this part of India are in profusion, and of a good quality. Turmeric, ginger, a little mustard, and the numerous other kind of condiments used by the natives are also found. Peas, cabbage, potatoes and other European vegetables thrive well, but are not in common use. The betel vine is found in the vicinity of all the ryots houses, the leaf however, is said to be comparatively coarse, much is imported.

Of the forests. Sandalwood and cardamoms are the most valuable of the spontaneous productions; a more particular account of these articles will be subsequently given, exclusive of them the jungle yields excellent timber, a species of wild nutmeg of good quality, the wild olive, cassia,† gum trees in abundance, wild yams of great size, quantities of wild honey are found, the wax of which belongs to the Circar, and is of some value, the bees producing it are of several species.

The products of these forests extend to a much larger list than is here given, it would however require a long residence amongst them to enumerate them with precision.

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* They may be said to grow almost in a wild state, the plants merely requiring to be placed in the ground, and thriving without much further attention; they renew themselves by a succession of fresh shoots, given out from the older ones, as they decay, they soon acquire new roots, and a bed of those plants has been known to multiply, and furnish fruit regularly during a period of 18 years; they thrive but in rather elevated and dry situations—those grown in Codugu are large, but loosening the ground immediately at the root would increase their natural luxuriance; some of the plants have been known to attain 6 feet in height, a stature every way favorable to the excellence of the fruit.

† The Cassia Lignia or *Laurus, Cassia* is very common throughout the upper country, though made but little, if any use of; the process by which this article is fitted for sale, seems not generally known, or it must have long since been numbered amongst the exports. It is sometimes thus prepared in the neighbouring countries:—the plants when a year old are pruned till only the lower part of the tree remains, fresh shoots spring from the stump which are removed (when they attain the age of 3 years) at the season when the sap has ascended to the summit, the bark is stripped off when they are pliant, and the exterior surface carfully scraped, it is then formed into long rolls and exposed till quite dry to the influence of the sun; these operations may be repeated twice a year, that is in July and February the most favorable time for taking the bark.

Below the ghauts.

In these districts, next to rice, suparee is the principal production. Plantations of it are numerous in Pungee, and parts of Sooleeay and Bullaree; the upper country is entirely supplied with this article from below the ghauts from which is also sent a small quantity of khut (*Terra Japonica*) rice is principally sent to Mangalore. Raggy is cultivated on the hills in Sooleeay to some extent, bearing however no proportion to the quantity of rice grown; tobacco, hurali, some hemp, yerrinda and various kind of pulse are grown on the rice lands, after the second crop has been taken from them; neither vegetables, or fruits are so good, or in such quantities as in the upper country; of the more precious articles pepper is the chief, if indeed, not the principal one; it is found towards the foot of the ghaut that skirt the Sooleeay district; it is also cultivated in the arreca gardens, amongst the products of which betel nut may likewise be reckoned as a principal one. The cocoanut so extremely useful in all its parts is very general throughout the country situated below the ghauts, sugar-cane is also cultivated there, but the quantity of jaggary made is not considerable.

The above enumeration comprises the most prominent productions of its soil, the account given of its manufactures will show, that those of its industry may be contained in a much more limited catalogue.

Agriculture.

The agriculture of Codugu as will readily be supposed is much in the same state as that common throughout most parts of India, a system of rural economy formed at a remote period has been transmitted for ages unchanged, and the cultivator, attached to ancient practices, views with dislike any attempts to innovations.

But an imperfect sketch can here be offered of the agriculture of Codugu. The subject though not connected with anything calculated to excite apprehension, shared nearly the same fate as all others. The infant stage of its advancement however renders it perhaps of but little value as a lesson of experience, though a knowledge of it may be desirable as a statement of facts.

1067

Of the upper country. The industry of the inhabitants of the upper country, is directed almost exclusively to the cultivation of rice, it is grown only in the low narrow valleys that intervene between the high grounds and which appear every way well calculated for its production.

Lands. These valleys are generally from ¼ to ½ a mile in breadth in the wider parts, becoming however, exceedingly narrow as they run amongst the higher grounds, they are terraced with industry, and their area is always sufficiently large to admit of ploughs being used. The lands into which these valleys are formed are known under two denominations.

First Bylgudday. This is understood as the lowest part of the valley which at most seasons retains some humidity, being occupied by springs, or having a rivulet running through it.

Second Makigudday The fields known under this term are those terraced up the sides of the neighbouring slopes, they depend solely on the supply of rain during the wet season for the success of the crops grown on them, the former is capable from its position of being assisted by artifical irrigation.

Though the upper county thoughout produces rice in the utmost luxuriance, the more central parts may be considered as yielding the most abundant crops, the plants here attaining the greatest size and substance; towards the north the quantity of rain that falls is said to be too great in the southern districts, though the valleys are larger, and more level, the soil is comparatively of an inferior quality.

Ploughing. Husbandry as practised amongst these hills is by no means operose or intricate, the first operetion of it which is termed "Hoanara" begins in Yeddimar when the ploughing commences, the extreme inefficiency of the instruments which enter scarcely beyond the surface, renders a frequent repetition of the operation necessary, so that the fields generally receive from 6 to 7 ploughings before the soil has been sufficiently prepared. The first 3 of these take place when the ground is in a dry state, the

remainder after a considerable portion of rain is fallen, and when they are dissolved into a soft muddy consistency, no particular period, is considered necessary to intervene between the various ploughings, which are made according to the state of the weather and convenience of the cultivator. The whole operation of ploughing being over, the field is smoothed once or twice with the pala when it is prepared for the reception of the plants.

Manure. The amelioration of the soil seems to be an object of some solicitude. Manure is carefully collected, and distributed; it consists principally of all the excrementious matter of the domestic animals absorbed by the straw and dry leaves with which they are littered, to this is added the soil, and refuse of the house; and indeed, scarce any kind of manure seems to be objectionable. Cattle are confined during the night, and the very hot parts of the day in temporary folds on the lands for the purpose of enriching the soil. In some parts of the lower districts, particularly those occupying the base of the ghauts, the ear of the grain is alone removed leaving the whole of the straw* as stubble, partly for the food of the cattle and partly as manure. The manure is incorporated with the soil in the first and second ploughing, being previously spread in small heaps, over the field; when composed of a mixture of dry branches and leaves, it is burnt on the lands, and the ashes thus procured distributed equally over them.

Species of rice. There are three kinds† of rice cultivated. Doda betta, this is a large grain, and it is that in gene-

* It is a curious circumstance that the houses below the ghauts are never thatched with straw being always covered by the long grass growing in great abundance on the higher grounds.

† It has been an object of enquiry amongst the curious to learn from whence originated the various grains, and if they are now seen in a wild state. This latter question would seem in some measure answered by the circumstance of wild rice being common in some parts of Codugu. In Kigguttnaad many of the smaller valleys are perfect swamps of considerable depth, the texture of the ground is too much broken to admit of the plough, and the general testimony of the Natives would lead to the belief that they never had been cultivated; in the midst of the rank herbage, that covers these swamps small crops of wild rice is frequently seen, the stocks are high, but excessively thin, and the grain very diminitive; the ear is bearded like the barley; when boiled it is of a rather bluish tinge, and not marked by any particular flavour. It is called paundawar butta or the rice of paundoo, and only eaten by the very lowest classes.

ral use with the majority of the inhabitants, and what is principally exported. Dunna betta a small and finer kind; and kissara a red species are also shown, but both in very small quantities.

Sowing.

The whole of the rice ground in the upper country is transplanted, but the management anterior to this process, that is rearing the seedlings is as follows:—by legudday fields are chosen for the reception of the seed, their preparation is after the manner as stated above with but little difference, a greater portion of manure, however, being generally allowed. The sowing commences in 'Caudear' or as near that period as the state of the weather will permit, but the season of sowing influenced by circumstances, sometimes extends to a month longer. The seed is of course sown broad cast and very thick; it is prepared by being steeped in water for a short time, and then placed in a heap, it is kept damp for three days; when beginning to vegetate it is prepared for sowing. The fields being now in a muddy state, it sinks for a short way into the soil which is only kept sufficiently moist, water being but scantily supplied till it has taken root, when the quantity is gradually increased, the seedling sown germinates, and at the end of 35 or 40 days it attains nearly a foot in height and is then fit for transplantation.

Naty or transplantation.

The period of transplantation begins in 'Audry' and ends in 'Kuckayray.' On the removal of the seedlings they are transplanted over the whole space intended for the cultivation of rice, this mode is considered as best adapted to resist the violence of the rain and in other points of view is reckoned to have advantages, and seems particularly calculated for a rich soil. The transplantation is managed with great care, 6 or 7 stocks connected together from one plant—these plants are arranged in regular lines and have a space of about 6 inches between the roots of each, this admits the air, and heat, and gives them full room for all the luxuriance of vegetation. The holes in which they are placed are readily made with the finger in the damp earth, and the roots soon become settled; grounds thus planted are found to produce com-

paratively few weeds, and what there are, can be easily removed. Immediately after transplantation, the field (for a short time only being kept damp) is inundated, and continued overflown with from 6 to 7 inches of water till within 8 or 10 days before harvest, the plant during this time being in a state of semi-immersion.

Weeding. The fields undergo only one weeding; this takes place generally six weeks after transplantation; an abundant supply of water retards their growth they are removed by manual labour. The crops generally are not liable to miscarriage or sickliness; in the early part of their growth they are subject to the attacks of several species of worms, to extirpate which all the powers of charms and spells are called into action, but are not always found of sufficient efficacy. They are also open to the depredation of mountain mice, and attract flocks of graminivorous birds; both these evils however are readily guarded against.

Harvest. This is termed Beullay, the crop of rice sown here generally takes full 5 months before arriving at maturity. It ripens in the more open parts at the commencement of December, perhaps a short time sooner, but in the deep and sheltered valleys, not till the end of that month, or till the beginning of January; when cut, it remains two or three days on the field to dry, and is then trodden out of the ear by bullocks. The grain intended for seed is carefully preserved, that for consumption after having been boiled (which facilitates their removal) the husks are beaten off, the rice is kept in large baskets having the exterior covered with a coating made of a mixture of cow-dung and mud; the crop is reaped with the ordinary sickle.

The straw answers numerous domestic purposes, thatching, food for the cattle, &c. It grows to a great height, generally reaching 4 feet.

Cultivation of Yailsowra. The cultivation of Yailsowra differs but in few particulars from what has just been stated. Transplanting is not generally practiced, the seed is sown broad cast in most instances. The Coorg is however also

1071

used. In this latter case, the fields are always ploughed in a dry state, and the seed sown on them requires no preparation. The pala closely following the drill, covers the seed as it falls from it.

Of Nunjarajaputtun. Nunjarajaputtun is the small district lying along the western banks of the Cauvery, it is the only part that produces any abundance of dry grain. In it are cultivated those common in the open country; raggy, auvaray, tovaray, udu, huruli, and ellu &c. The ordinary management observed in rearing these grains differs in nothing from the process common in Mysore, which is so well known as not here to require a repetition of it.

The Hills are subject to coomary cultivation, of however no very considerable extent. Raggy is the only grain sown on them, this cultivation is performed by the lowest castes generally the periodical servants of the aborigines, who themselves never assist in it, their labors being exclusively confined to the lower grounds. The course of management observed in this species of husbandry is subject to few variations; the detail of it will not here require any particular mention, it exactly resembles that prevailing below the ghauts.

Cultivation below the ghauts. The lands of the lower district on which rice is cultivated are divided into three kinds:—

Lands. FIRST BYLOO.—This is the lowest part of the valley and capable of being artificially irrigated, they are the most valuable, yielding two and frequently three crops during the year; they form a considerable portion of the cultivated lands.

SECOND MAJULA.—The fields thus denominated are situated higher up than the former, are capable of being partially irrigated in the event of a failure of the annual supply of rain, but not to the extent of producing two crops—one, if the wet season be at all favorable, is looked on as certain.

THIRD BETTA.—Are situated on the higher parts of the slope connected with the lands just mentioned, the success of the crops

sown on them is very precarious as they are not capable of being in any way assisted by artificial irrigation.

In the country below the ghauts, from 7 to 9 ploughings are necessary, the period for their commencement and close, is fixed within rather wide limits, depending on the season, and nature of the intended crop; the operations of husbandry however may be said to commence by the 15th of Puggoo (latter end of April) and end at the close of Baysha (15th June) the first and second ploughing but imperfectly opens the ground; no particular period is allowed to pass between the different repetitions of this operation, it being regulated by accident, the nature of the weather, &c. At the close of the third ploughing the banks of the fields are rendered capable of retaining the water; and after the fourth and fifth arrotion it is soft and muddy; it is again twice ploughed, and carefully smoothed by the pala, (or plank) after this it is again inundated, and the water being allowed to remain a short time, it receives the last ploughing and is finally smoothed by the above instrument. The preparation of the majula differs in few particulars from the above, the labor only being somewhat more operose. The betta or highest fields are managed after a similar manner, the first three ploughings are in a dry state, and as the season is favorable they receive in succession six further ones, the operation of smoothing them taking place nearly as often.

Manure. Every kind is collected, the cattle are littered every evening with fresh leaves which are removed every 15 or 20 days, this is further increased by the soil of the house. Bushes and dry leaves of every kind are collected, and burnt on the fields.

Sowing. The seed is in general sown broad cast, transplantation is however sometimes adopted for the byloo and majula lands, but the betta fields requiring to be sooner sown, are unfit for this species of cultivation; the preparation of the seed sown for transplanting differs in but few instances, it is mixed with a portion of cow-dung and water, and left for three days to vegetate, being kept for this time always in a damp state; the byloo land is generally chosen to rear the seedlings, it is sown broad cast, and exceedingly

thick, the field is inundated, but the water drawn of at intervals to promote vegetation, but as the plants grow up they are always kept a third part covered with it; they are capable of being transplanted after the 30th or 40th day; this mode on the whole is considered expensive and laborious, and is only practiced where the number of labourers are numerous. When the fields are sown broad cast, the seed is prepared in the manner similar to that just mentioned, except when their positions are particularly swampy; thus situated the seed is sown dry. Seed intended for transplantation is generally sown by the 20th of Baysha and transplanted by the 10th or 20th of Catiallu.

Weeding. Takes place in the month of Attee, it is an expensive operation, and not often repeated, a scarcity of water never fails to produce a great number of them, (weeds) they do not grow to any considerable size, a species of creeper of the grass kind is most destructive and troublesome.

Crops. It may be generally said that more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the fields below the ghauts yield two crops in the season; the majula, though not the whole of it, gives one of paddy, and another of dry grain: the byloogudday two of rice, the last crop is greatly inferior to the first.

Harvest. Harvest is here considerably earlier than above the ghauts. It generally takes place about the latter end of October.

Coomaray cultivation. A considerable portion of the hills of the lower districts are subject to this cultivation, it is mostly practiced by the lower Mahratta castes, some hill rice is also grown by them; the preparation of the ground in both instances is something similar. This species of cultivation (raggy) though not immediately confined to these districts is more common in them than the country above, this arises more from the nature of the inhabitants than the soil of the hills, which is extremely well adapted to it.

Hill rice. The soil favorable to this culture is a reddish mould with a small mixture of pebbles; the declivity of the hill must not be great, as in such a case the violent rains here would wash away the earth. Those hills covered with a thick forest of ancient growth are unfavorable, a jungle of moderate density, and if 13 or 14 years old, unites every desirable requisite.

The agricultural operations of this part of rural economy are few and simple: a favorable spot is fixed on, the jungle is cut between Durmiar and Malliar, and burnt in Coombiar, it is surrounded by a strong hedge, and the business of sowing commences in Yeddimiar, this is done broad cast, after which the surface is superficially dug up by the kokay, it undergoes two slight weedings during the three succeeding months, it ripens about the sixth, and is cut in kunniar. A second crop is rarely sown the following year when however, ellu, huruli, tovaray, &c, are grown in its place, the latter is frequently scatered throughout the rice crop, and occasionlly sown in a straight line to answer the purpose of a boundary between the fields of different possessors. Hill rice gives a return of about 10 fold, the grain is small and of a reddish color.

This cultivation is precarious, and the husbandman cannot look with confidence to the re-payment of his labor.

Raggy. The preparation for the raggy or natchenny cultivation, as has been said is similar with the former, and differs but little as to the situation or soil required. A period of from 7 to 12 years is allowed to elapse generally before ground once cultivated, again becomes useful; such a long one would seem unnecessary, but the natives conceive a large quantity of wood must be burnt to produce fertility: its return in fold, in favorable seasons, may be from two to three hundred. It may be remarked that raggy in this country is more a subsidiary cultivation than one exclusively followed. It is in no instance the general food of any part of the inhabitants.

Areca plantations. The culture of the areca nut forms an important part of the husbandry below the ghauts. This beautiful and useful palm will not thrive in the upper

country; no very detailed account will be required, as to the formation and management of the areca plantations, the gardens are only made in the hilly grounds (the small sheltered glens of which they occupy); they require a red and rather gravelly soil, any change in this particular affecting sensibly the quality of the nut; a constant supply of water is one of the first requisites in the formation of the areca garden. This palm begins to bear about the 9th or 10th year, and continues to yield fruit for sometimes 40 years. The harvest occurs in November; pepper is grown in all the areca plantations in which are also a number of fruit trees.

Character of the cultivation, obstacles, &c.

It will be seen that the general system together with the minutiæ it embraces, is not dissimilar from the common course observed in the neighbouring countries; those prejudices in favor of old habits, and that aversion to innovation of any kind which forms so remarkable a feature in the character of the Hindoo, have here lost none of their force, but continue to present an effectual resistance to all improvements, which science or experience might suggest, and are the chief obstacles which agriculture has to encounter. Weak and inefficient instruments of husbandry, want of wheel carriage, and the numberless wild animals to whose attacks the crops are liable, are impediments of minor consideration. The want of capital must necessarily retard the progress of improvement, but above all, that contented indolence and apathy which renders it the first aim of the Farmer, (and few Indian ones aspire beyond it) to secure a subsistence, rather than a competence, necessarily opposes the introduction of any change from the old routine, as that sanctioned by the experience of their forefathers is found capable of supplying their few wants.

Though the course of management adopted is prescribed by prejudice, yet, when the rudeness of the implements are considered, it is a subject of wonder that the cultivation is not more imperfect.

The rich qualities of their lands, for whose valuable properties however, they are entirely indebted to nature, recompenses for the imperfections of their system of agriculture. It must not be inferred how-

ever that the Codugu farmer exhibits any remarkable want of skill in this particular, he is by no means inferior to his neighbours and possessing an equal if not greater share of industry, he derives considerable advantages from his central situation; living in the midst of his fields, he is able to bestow on them, a more careful attention and superintendence, than the husbandman of the open country, who, residing in villages, has frequently to go some distance to his lands.

The general system observed would doubtless admit of great amelioration, the fertility of the arable lands below the ghauts is dissipated by constant tillage, one crop is scarcely taken off, before another is sown, and though the lands of the upper country are not subject to a similar course of exhaustion, better means than those adopted could be pursued to augment their fertility (already great) and call it more effectually into action. The benefits of fallow are unknown, and consequently this is never practised, no variety of crop (in Codugu proper) is grown on the cultivated lands, nor indeed, is the climate or soil well adapted to any other than rice.

The agriculture of Codugu, and it may be said that of the lower districts extends to no variety of production ; rice is the staple one, of which much more is grown, than can be consumed: the low lands of Codugu proper yield as has been observed no other article; they seem unfavorable to the growth of sugar-cane, which is not often met with; this is produced in Yailsowra, but the cultivation of it is limited, it is more extensive below the ghauts, but even there is not grown upon a large scale. Tobacco is grown in the upper country for domestic use, and is inferior to that of Mysore; below the ghauts it is in great abundance, and some of it is exported. This plant is sown in small beds richly manured, it is subsequently transplanted, and requires some care; it is grown always on the low slopes close to the houses of the ryots; a little Shanapu, or hemp is also grown, principally for its fibres, from which ropes are manufactured, but the natives are said to have the pernicious habit of eating its leaves, remarkable for their intoxicating quality. A small quantity of wheat is said to be grown in the more open parts. The fruits common to the country have already been mentioned, and there is every appearance of probability, that many of those of Europe might be introduced with success; all idea of experiments however

1077

is foreign to a native. Ginger, and turmeric require a rich soil, and much care, the culture of them is limited. All cucurbitacious plants thrive with uncommon luxuriance; as to medicinal or vulnerary herbs, none of any particular merit have come within my observation. It will not be necessary to enumerate the various other vegetable productions commonly known, they are the same as those general throughout the surrounding countries, being however of a larger growth.

Agricultural Instruments.

The agricultural instruments common in Codugu are exceedingly few, and those of the rudest kind.

From the make of the plough it will be seen that it is but ill calculated for the office to which it is applied, and to its extreme inefficiency must be attributed the necessity that exists of so frequently repeating the operation which it performs. One person only attends a plough, the bullocks draw double, and are coupled by a yoke on which the beam rests, and to which it is fastened by a cord. The harness, yoke, &c., are all equally wretched with the instrument itself, whose extreme cost does not exceed one Rupee; the value of the oxen attached to it however may reach to that of 5 Pagodas.

The tahway or pallay is generally an ordinary plank in which iron staples are fixed, two cords fastened in them, connected with the yoke by which the oxen are coupled, complete this rude instrument; it is made to answer all the purposes of the harrow. The driver standing on it adds to the efficacy of the operation, and after repeatedly passing over the surface it is enabled to pulverize, and smooth the lands.

The Codugus have no farming utensils peculiar to themselves; the goodalee or hoe, also the cutty or sickle common in the neighbouring countries are in general use here, the former performs all the offices of the spade; the latter equally answering a variety of purposes.

Carts of any description are unknown in Codugu. Baskets are used when it is required to transport earth, or manure from one place to another.

The primitive and wretched state in which we find the agricultural instruments is perhaps more attributable to the rude simplicity which characterizes the Hindoo, than any inability or want of means to improve them.

Register of the Villages in the Codugu Survey, showing the particular Bearing and Distances of each from the nearest Trigonometrical Station.

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
	YAILSOWRA TALOOK, CONTAINS 12 HOBELYS.							
	Coadley Hobely ...							
	Coodooloor do ...							
	Hookacode do ...							
	Bembulloor do ...							
	Bulla do ...							
	Connagaul do ...							
	Hanugoad do ...							
	Doadhully Gowdhully Hobely ...							
	Nerrootod do ...							
	Menesedda do ...							
	Mooloor do ...							
	Gunnagoor do ...							
Coadley Hobely.	Humpapoora ...	Maullimby.	N. W.	8	52	11	3	192
	Santapoora ...	do.	„	13	0	10	6	160
	Kella Coadley ...	do.	„	4	52	10	6	190
	Dood Coadley ...	do.	„	5	45	10	4	0
	Arrakunhully ...	do.	„	9	15	10	3	0
	Kussoor ...	do.	„	13	30	10	3	0
	Hosohully ...	do.	„	13	30	10	0	20
	Kulhully ...	do.	„	13	15	9	4	55
	Mullypoora ...	do.	„	154	52	9	3	0
	Kirra Coadley ...	do.	N.	0	0	9	1	110
	Kirugunhully ...	do.	N. W.	5	0	9	1	110
	Nandypoora ...	do.	„	8	22	9	0	38
	Mulhully ...	do.	„	5	45	8	3	7
	Kathay ...	do.	„	13	30	8	5	107
	Ichillapoora ...	do.	„	9	45	8	6	55
	Oorgooty ...	do.	„	14	30	7	5	55
	Raminhully ...	do.	„	3	37	8	5	110

1079

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Coodooloor Hobely,	Coodooloor ...	Maullimby.	N. E.	9	30	8	0	210
	Niergoonda ...	do.	„	4	52	9	4	7
	Conaginhully ...	do.	„	11	37	8	6	82
	Buswanhully ...	do.	„	9	30	8	7	110
	Honaycoday ...	do.	„	8	37	9	2	180
	Ippugullullay ...	do.	„	12	0	9	6	55
	Cuttaypoora ...	do.	„	17	37	9	7	0
	Augullay	do.	„	27	0	9	7	190
	Nellawaugulloo ...	do.	„	18	52	8	2	137
	Chick Bundara ...	do.	„	18	7	7	6	162
	Dooda Bundara ...	do.	„	13	52	7	3	55
	Hemmaney	do.	„	9	22	7	2	210
	Coragal	do.	„	7	0	7	2	60
	Bairagoola	do.	N. W.	2	0	8	0	192
	Dood Coonda... ...	do.	N. E.	3	7	8	2	105
	Chick Coonda... ...	do.	„	4	30	8	5	10
	Bittugunhully.. ...	do.	„	12	22	7	6	27
	Lukkunnil	do.	„	6	30	7	5	155
	Baisoor	do.	„	15	22	8	0	162
	Horahully	do.	„	7	15	8	0	0
	Tauloor	do.	„	12	0	6	3	120
	Maugudahully ...	do.	„	2	45	9	7	192
	Mullugunhully ...	do.	„	4	30	10	1	182
	Junnairdanhully ...	do.	„	8	22	10	2	177
	Mawinhully... ...	do.	„	6	15	9	0	0
	Kayraykayray ...	do.	„	7	15	8	0	82
Hoolacoda Hobely.	Hoolacode	do.	„	3	30	6	6	15
	Cunnugulloo... ...	do.	„	3	0	5	6	7
	Munniegillay... ...	do.	„	13	52	5	6	177
	Hullybyloo	do.	„	17	37	5	7	110
	Beechunhully.... ...	do.	„	5	37	5	3	47
	Bettadhully	do.	„	8	45	5	3	205
	Hossapoora	do.	„	21	45	5	4	110
	Hebbulshay	do.	„	17	52	4	7	67
	Sumpaguddhaloo ...	do.	„	23	52	4	6	55
	Nakullagoodoo ...	do.	N. W.	1	52	5	4	110
	Ourydhalloo	do.	N. E.	3	0	6	1	77
	Kittoor	do.	„	19	30	6	5	165

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Bembulloor Hobely.	Bembulloor	Maullimby.	N. W.	11	37	7	2	115
	Shiwurhully	do.	„	3	5	6	7	142
	Kirrukunhully ...	do.	„	10	15	6	7	55
	Toallagoor	do.	„	11	37	6	4	110
	Harahully	do.	„	10	7	6	0	55
	Baugayray	do.	„	8	45	5	4	192
	Cunnarhully	do.	„	3	7	7	5	142
	Moodrawully.... ...	do.	„	5	7	5	2	110
Bulla Hobely.	Bulla	do.	„	22	37	6	4	162
	Chennapoora	do.	„	20	37	7	3	0
	Keeraybulla	do.	„	18	0	7	1	0
	Madray	do.	„	23	30	6	2	142
	Dundhully	do.	„	29	22	6	3	27
	Hosohully	do.	„	28	15	6	0	165
	Seera	do.	„	14	45	6	3	162
	Caudjoor	do.	„	20	37	5	0	215
	Chicka Kolatoor ...	do.	„	25	37	4	4	207
	Appusuthully ...	do.	„	28	0	3	7	55
	Jobacoday	do.	„	23	45	4	7	162
	Yedhully	do.	„	34	45	5	3	195
	Dood Kolatoor... ...	do.	„	31	15	5	0	192
	Chukunhully	do.	„	35	30	5	0	105
	Koojugayray	do.	„	23	37	5	5	0
	Gowndhully	do.	„	20	0	4	4	160
	Sooligullulay	do.	„	8	45	5	3	0
	Halcunnay	do.	„	14	22	5	1	10
	Biddiroor	do.	„	8	45	4	1	192
	Wodairapoora... ...	do.	„	5	0	3	3	110
	Kenkayray	do.	„	20	22	3	0	192
	Madaygoodoo... ...	do.	„	19	15	2	4	192
	Chittugunhully. ...	do.	„	22	30	3	3	92
	Hemmaney	do.	„	12	30	4	0	143
	Serengaula	do.	N. E.	6	45	4	3	37
	Hundlay	do.	„	15	22	4	1	162
	Hoolshay	do.	N. W.	2	0	4	3	27
	Bellarhully	do.	N. E.	4	30	4	6	55
	Kayrayhully	do.	N. W.	6	7	4	6	152
	Goodoogullulay ...	do.	„	2	0	4	0	142
	Gopullapoora	do.	„	15	52	3	2	37
	Soguhully	do.	„	14	30	5	6	0

1081

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nirrootoda Hobely. Doadhully Gowdhully Hobely. Hanugoad Hobely. Connagaul Hobely.	Connagaul ...	Maullimby	S. E.	18	27	2	1	82
	Chicka Connagaul ...	do.	„	18	27	2	4	137
	Auloor ...	do.	„	49	52	2	7	110
	Kuntabuswanhully ...	do.	„	19	30	1	5	137
	Kittulagudday ...	do.	„	6	0	1	7	17
	Bunnawarra ...	do.	„	24	30	4	2	0
	Seedapoora ...	do.	„	41	45	2	4	27
	Doadhully ...	do.	N. E.	15	30	3	0	57
	Hanugoad ...	do.	S. W.	44	30	4	0	82
	Doda Maloota ...	do.	„	34	52	3	4	132
	Gudjay Hanugoad ...	do.	„	59	15	3	4	110
	Addagulhully ...	do.	„	52	30	4	4	205
	Heereekora ...	do.	„	30	52	1	7	110
	Koogeecoadu ...	do.	„	39	45	2	6	182
	Hoenawully ...	do.	„	45	15	3	5	62
	Sooly Mullattee ...	do.	„	22	22	3	0	0
	Doadhully Gowdhully	do.	S. W.	88	0	1	3	205
	Buswanacopooloo ...	do.	N. W.	75	30	1	3	205
	Heggoola ...	do.	S. W.	88	0	1	1	162
	Hallysuntabaray ...	do.	N. W.	69	15	1	0	110
	Chinnapoora ...	do.	S. W.	44	37	2	2	55
	Coogoor ...	do.	„	25	0	1	1	192
	Shevapoora ...	do.	„	61	52	2	4	192
	Harohully ...	do.	„	62	0	2	1	62
	Adjyhully ...	do.	„	70	15	1	3	165
	Goandhully ...	do.	N. W.	19	52	5	4	145
	Mungaloor ...	do.	S. W.	85	15	2	4	125
	Chickarra ...	do.	„	24	22	1	5	110
	Soonty ...	do.	„	71	7	2	6	37
	Karlehully ...	do.	N. W.	86	52	2	5	10
	Nirrootoda ...	do.	N. E.	21	30	2	5	110
	Hittulakayray ...	do.	„	2	7	2	6	165
	Hoonshaykye ...	do.	„	10	45	2	4	192
	Doodhully ...	do.	„	15	52	3	0	55
	Siddagullulay ...	do.	„	20	45	3	5	147
	Harroor Hossoor ...	do.	„	6	45	4	0	48
	Showdinhully ...	do.	„	6	43	3	2	87
	Cooroodawully ...	do.	N. W.	14	37	1	3	27

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.			Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nirrootoda (*contd.*)	Nundygoondy ...	Maullimby.	N. W.	38	0	1	1	135
	Naguwulla ...	do.	N. E.	62	0	2	5	110
	Raminhully ...	do.	N. W.	25	45	1	4	165
	Joginhully ...	do.	N. E.	15	30	2	3	105
Menesedda Hobely.	Menesedda ...	do.	N. E.	46	37	3	7	27
	Gunguwar ...	do.	„	43	0	4	3	195
	Unkunhully ...	do.	„	49	15	4	1	115
	Katinhully ...	do.	„	25	7	3	6	110
	Shigamurroor ...	do.	„	57	30	4	1	38
	Boodabumhully	do.	„	62	0	3	2	95
	Kysurawully ...	do.	„	49	30	4	4	197
	Bettadhully ...	do.	„	40	0	3	7	27
	Mibatapoora ...	do.	„	52	22	3	3	60
	Ummully ...	do.	„	62	0	3	3	165
Mooloor Hobely.	Mooloor ...	do.	„	31	45	2	0	192
	Maullimby ...	do.	S. E.	56	30	1	0	110
	Adapunahosohully ...	do.	„	87	52	2	2	165
	Bouwanhully ...	do.	„	75	30	1	4	0
	Karagode ...	do.	N. E.	23	30	1	5	0
	Haurohully ...	do.	„	51	15	2	0	165
	Hosagooty ...	do.	„	78	30	2	2	62
Gunnagoor Hobely.	Gunnagoor ...	do.	S. W.	2	0	4	0	165
	Ounjigenhully ...	do.	S. E.	14	45	3	3	55
	Yeddawoondy ...	do.	„	10	0	4	0	165
	Goonimurroor ...	do.	„	10	0	4	4	110
	Naguwully ...	do.	„	3	22	3	5	110
	Sungainpoora ...	do.	„	24	30	3	6	27
	Audy Naudoor ...	do.	„	5	45	6	4	165
	Baugayray ...	do.	„	13	15	5	7	110

CODUGU PROPER, CONTAINS 20 NAADS.

Nunjarajputtun	Naad.	
Yeddoòa	do.	
Thawa	do.	
Gudday	do.	
Oòlagoolee Moodagayree	do.	
Hoaroor Nooruckkul	do.	
Soorlaby Moothoo	do.	
Hahlayray Buddugayray	do.	
Muddukayray Horomullay	do.	
Paudy Naku	do.	
Kudduttthu	do.	
Hoodoogayray Moondapum	do.	
Bayngu	do.	
Byru	do.	Yedday Naku Naad.
Yedday	do.	
Hirrooa	do.	
Baithoally	do.	
Ammuthu	do.	
Baypu	do.	
Kooyeangayray	do.	
Kuggoadloo	do.	
Bettieth	do.	
Kaunthamoor	do.	

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nunjarajputtun Naad.	Sidilingipoora ...	Maullimby.	S. E.	27	37	5	2	110
	Chick Aulwar ...	do.	„	24	37	7	2	82
	Dodda Aulwar ...	do.	„	21	45	7	7	20
	Andanypoora ...	do.	„	24	7	7	6	115
	Hossocotta ...	do.	„	23	0	8	3	110
	Haulaygootay ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	37	0	7	4	27
	Causulgodi ...	do.	„	43	0	8	1	55
	Murroor ...	do.	„	43	0	7	3	55
	Hebbaully ...	do.	„	51	7	8	1	197
	Torianoor ...	Maullimby.	S. E.	36	27	9	6	55
	Guddayhosohully ...	do.	„	37	27	9	1	137
	Munjoor ...	do.	„	41	0	8	0	165
	Seringala ...	do.	„	46	30	9	3	192
	Chicka Naikana Hosohully ...	do.	„	38	37	7	7	165
	Nelloor ...	do.	„	46	37	8	0	115
	Hoolsha ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	51	7	7	1	82
	Ramapoor or Ramasamy Cunnawye ...	do.	„	51	7	6	3	165
	Bawanugorri ...	do.	„	51	7	6	0	165
	Heggarhully ...	do.	„	53	7	5	6	137
	Bayraycotay ...	do.	„	40	0	5	0	55
	Siraholaloo ...	do.	„	41	0	4	4	365
	Coodigay ...	do.	„	57	27	5	4	77
	Hooloogoonda ...	do.	„	32	30	3	2	0
	Chick Attoor ...	do.	„	43	15	3	5	77
	Dooda Attoor ...	do.	„	49	45	4	3	0
	Mungaloor ...	do.	„	63	15	5	2	87
	Coodooloor ...	do.	„	72	15	5	2	27
	Goomunakooli ...	do.	„	81	45	5	1	27
	Moolaysogay ...	do.	„	86	27	5	0	197
	Byckanhully ...	do.	S. E.	89	45	4	4	87
	Madaputna ...	do.	„	88	15	3	3	110
	Bulloor ...	do.	„	79	30	2	6	0
	Buswanhully ...	do.	„	66	15	2	2	55
	Bettagerri ...	do.	„	46	52	2	5	192
	Balagode ...	Seedasweer	N. W.	40	30	6	6	110

1085

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from which observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Nunjarajputtun Naad Cont.	Rungasamoodra ...	Seedasweer.	N. W.	52	7	6	0	0
	Veerapaugshapoora ...	do.	„	53	27	5	4	125
	Hosoputna ...	do.	„	58	0	5	3	110
	Nunjarajputtun ...	Nooruckkul	S. E.	86	15	5	4	205
Yeddoor Naad.	Koombarhully ...	Soobramuhni	N. E.	76	45	3	6	197
	Kothanhully ...	do.	S. E.	67	7	3	4	22
	Bettaduhully ...	Hurrugul	N. W.	21	7	2	5	127
	Koondhully ...	do.	„	2	15	2	5	142
	Santhully ...	do.	N. E.	34	0	1	3	110
	Hosohully ...	Maullimby.	S. E.	2	30	7	0	95
	Hurruguggamungala or Hurrugul ...	Hurrugul	S. W.	48	45	0	5	165
	Thulluturra Chuthully.	do.	S. E.	57	15	2	5	27
	Butchully Hosohully Chuthully ...	do.	N. E.	86	15	2	5	60
	Hanagul Chuthully ...	do.	S. E.	74	45	3	1	155
	Yeddoor ...	do.	„	88	45	3	2	0
	Hanagul ...	do.	„	74	45	3	5	0
	Kaulkundoor ..	do.	„	83	0	3	6	210
	Hossobeudoo ...	do.	N. E.	72	22	2	6	197
	Doodoo Tholoor ...	do.	„	50	45	3	4	55
	Chuthully ...	do.	„	34	30	3	4	162
	Kooteyerradhunta ...	do.	„	10	7	3	7	110
	Chicku Tholoor ...	Maullimby.	S. W.	83	27	3	5	110
	Chowduloor ...	Hurrugul.	S. E.	75	30	4	2	165
	Nagurroor ...	do.	„	70	15	4	2	55
	Bullagoonda ...	do.	„	62	30	5	2	0
	Kusboor, ...	do.	„	59	30	6	1	37
	Mussagoad ...	Maullimby.	S. W.	24	45	5	4	106
	Kibbutta ...	do.	„	37	45	4	5	42
	Harohully ...	do.	„	27	30	4	2	110
	Woalligoonda ...	do.	„	14	37	4	3	37
	Bucturhully ...	do.	„	7	7	5	0	82
	Dood Ubboor ...	do.	„	11	22	5	3	137
	Chick Ubboor ...	do.	„	7	7	5	4	137
	Nairgullulay ...	do.	„	1	2	5	7	10
	Ittulumukki ...	do.	S. E.	0	45	6	2	165
	Nagullalu Kurkhully...	do.	S. W.	20	45	6	2	82

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Yeddoor naad	Hurroor ...	Maullimby.	S. W.	5	7	6	6	110
	Nairlay ...	do.	„	3	52	7	3	0
	Yellakanoor ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	13	52	6	2	177
	Bayloor Buswanhully..	Hurrugul.	S. E.	49	0	7	2	175
	Hoodoogooroo ...	Codergurrahully.	N. E.	24	15	3	6	165
	Currikay ...	Payrahjee.	S. W.	72	15	2	2	110
	Payrahjee ...	do.	N. W.	12	45	2	7	0
Thawa Naad.	Chembinney ...	Tháoor.	„	7	15	4	0	55
	Sumpajee ...	Moodapaudu.	S. W.	12	37	3	6	197
	Thunnamuhni ...	Tháoor.	„	66	30	1	4	165
	Thaoor ...	do.	„	39	27	0	7	55
	Baughamundla ...	do.	N. W.	30	37	1	6	27
	Sayrungaul ...	do.	„	32	30	3	0	110
	Korungaul ...	do.	S. E.	2	27	2	3	95
	Suringullay ...	Hurrugul.	„	1	37	4	2	0
	Mouttakkooloo ...	do.	„	4	„	5	5	102
Gudday Naad.	Belligayray ...	do.	„	18	7	4	2	0
	Thaukayray ...	do.	„	28	22	2	2	182
	Chickkuhrriday ...	Codergurrahully.	N. W.	36	15	6	1	182
	Jumboor ...	do.	„	53	30	6	4	97
	Gurrugundoor ...	do.	„	46	20	5	0	0
	Koomboor ...	do.	„	44	15	6	4	55
	Hahdaygayray ...	do.	„	61	45	7	0	192
	Yerrakoula ...	Hurrugul.	S. W.	31	32	4	4	165
	Gurruwully ...	do.	„	3	„	3	5	0
	Kirrigundoor ...	do.	S. E.	37	45	5	0	27
	Hahringy ...	Codergurrahully.	N. W.	26	54	5	0	100
	Kirrudurray ...	Hurrugul.	S. E.	12	30	5	2	110
Oolagoollee Moodagayree Naad.	Andagoowye ...	Codergurrahully.	S. W.	89	52	1	5	110
	Kulloor ...	do.	N. E.	22	37	0	5	0
	Uttoor ...	do.	S. W.	56	52	3	6	110
	Nakoor ...	do.	N. W.	41	27	3	4	27
	Codergurrahully ...	do.	S. W.	63	„	2	0	55
	Maugadoor ...	Noorkul.	N. E.	59	15	4	2	200

1087

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Mils.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Colagoollu Moodagayree Naad.	Oolagoollee ...	Codergurrahully.	N. W.	78	7	4	0	27
	Bulloor ...	do.	„	87	30	3	4	197
	Shanabogunhully ...	do.	„	56	45	3	4	0
	Baychunhully ...	do.	„	83	7	3	2	110
	Hurroodoor ...	do.	„	56	52	4	4	50
	Bettagayray ...	do.	„	65	52	5	0	200
Hoaroor Noorakul Naad.	Mukkundoor ...	Noorkul.	N. W.	29	30	6	2	27
	Nurrugunni Oomait...	do.	„	33	30	7	2	37
	Hadukulloonaigudhallu ...	Codergurrahully.	„	89	52	5	1	137
	Ibburny wullawaddy...	Muddukayray.	S. E.	83	0	2	0	0
	Kayddackadhala ...	Noorkul.	N. W.	65	15	2	4	177
	Moadoor ...	do.	„	7	45	2	0	110
	Hoaroor ...	do.	„	4	7	2	6	147
	Wallamoady ...	do.	N. E.	39	30	1	2	10
	Irrullay ...	do.	„	7	45	1	3	10
	Chayrullay ...	do.	„	76	0	1	4	205
	Sirimungaulla ...	do.	S. E.	40	7	1	5	0
Soorlaby Mootoor Naad.	Niddoowuttoo.. ...	Muddukayray.	N. W.	9	15	5	0	0
	Kaulloor	do.	„	18	0	7	1	55
	Hummeela	Soobramuhni.	S. E.	10	45	6	4	135
	Moatloo	do.	„	30	0	6	6	55
	Koombaraguddigay ...	do.	„	42	45	5	2	42
	Munkeea	do.	„	48	52	6	0	72
	Kikkurhully	do.	„	55	7	4	6	15
	Soorlaby	do.	„	37	44	6	3	192
Hahlayray Buddugayray Naad.	Hahlayray Thayrumbulley ..	Codergurrahully.	N. W.	88	30	6	0	165
	Kuddhundaula ...	Cotay Betta.	S. E.	28	7	4	6	95
	Aarcopa	do.	„	21	7	5	5	27
	Kaundanuquilly ...	do.	„	31	15	5	3	55
	Bettikayraymayluthauloo ...	do.	„	15	37	3	0	70
	Hemmuthauloo ...	do.	„	15	52	4	0	197
	Mookodulloo ...	do.	S. W.	9	52	2	4	65
	Hodhokaunah ...	do.	S. E.	25	30	3	3	192
	Auwundee	do.	S. W.	31	37	1	5	110

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Muddukayray Horomullay Naad.	Kurrunangayray ...	Muddukayray.	N. W.	8	15	9	4	110
	Kurruwullay ...	do.	„	39	30	1	5	110
	Hebbuthegayray ...	do.	„	16	30	2	0	30
	Naidulluwunnuchullu	do.	„	39	30	6	4	110
	Kullukayray Niddugunnie	do.	„	32	„	2	4	165
	Horomullay	do.	„	43	30	3	6	55
	Gauleebeudoo ...	do.	„	45	„	4	3	0
	Muddumbeela ...	do.	N. E.	18	45	2	1	190
Paudy Naku Naad.	Napoakle	Todiandamale.	N. E.	34	15	7	5	35
	Poolicotayeerawocoday	Thaoor.	S. E.	24	„	3	4	0
	Eyeangayraygoothangayray	Todiandamale.	N. W.	19	30	8	6	90
	Ballamowutty	do.	N. E.	5	15	7	0	137
	Payroor	do.	N. W.	7	15	6	6	90
	Yemmaymaud ...	do.	N. E.	18	45	7	4	110
	Nellijy	do.	„	17	15	5	4	192
	Kolaykayraybaymoonjee ...	do.	„	40	30	6	2	110
	Baidthu	do.	„	46	0	7	5	182
	Koonjullu	do.	„	31	0	3	7	182
	Nellaudu	do.	„	11	37	2	5	10
	Yewakkupaudu ...	do.	„	37	30	3	3	110
	Chaylaywaia	do.	S. E.	84	7	4	4	130
Kuddietthu Naad.	Paulingaulie	Veerajenderpett tree	N. W.	86	52	5	6	145
	Kurrada	do.	„	85	52	6	6	110
	Poothoowaddu ...	do.	„	77	15	5	5	22
	Bawaulley	Todiandamale.	„	66	30	7	2	5
	Kokayray	do.	N. E.	71	7	5	5	165
	Kirrundhaud ...	do.	N. E.	61	45	6	7	165
	Kycaud	do.	„	56	0	7	3	0
	Balamoory ...	Veerajenderpett	N. W.	46	30	1	1	0

1089

Hobely or Naad.		VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Hoodoogayray Naad.	Kuddiethu Naad *contd.*	Koninjugayray ...	Veerajenderpett.	N. W.	52	15	7	4	165
		Nerriindhuddu ...	Todiandamale.	N. E.	83	15	6	2	165
	Moondapum Naad.	Murragoad ...	Noorkul.	S. W.	54	7	2	3	55
		Hossokuray ...	do.	„	10	45	2	3	55
		Kuttymáud ...	Veerajenderpett.	N. W.	5	52	7	5	0
	Baingu Naad.	Arrucaudu ...	Noorkul.	S. E.	6	30	3	2	27
		Nelly Hoodoogayray ...	do.	„	47	45	6	3	110
		Shodooloor ...	do.	„	0	30	4	1	0
		Waulmore ...	do.	„	65	30	4	5	165
		Koondacherry ...	Thaoor.	S. E.	61	30	1	5	45
		Poodhakulloo ...	Baingoor.	S. W.	42	22	2	2	105
		Singatoor ...	do.	„	26	45	2	3	100
		Koputty ...	do.	S. E.	15	30	1	6	105
		Kolugadhaul ...	do.	„	46	52	3	3	165
		Koottoorpoonagoad ...	do.	„	46	22	4	5	165
		Eyewettukkooloo ...	Todiandamale.	N. E.	18	0	8	6	92
		Churrindittoo ...	Baingoor.	S. E.	5	30	3	2	165
		Bodagha ...	do.	„	23	15	3	2	27
		Baingoor ...	do.	„	40	30	5	1	0
	Yedday Naku Naad.	Byru Naad. Gooyan Seedapoor.	Veerajenderpett.	N. E.	37	15	6	7	0
		Byru Naad. Aariacommangaula	do.	„	22	45	4	1	165
		Byru Naad. Daywunagayray.	do.	„	0	45	3	4	110
		Byru Naad. Bhyrumbauda ...	do.	„	3	37	4	1	0
		Byru Naad. Yeddoor ...	do.	„	10	15	5	2	147
		Byru Naad. Halugoonda Candangayray ...	do.	N. W.	4	0	5	1	110
		Yedday Naad. Umbatty ...	do.	S. E.	29	52	1	7	165
		Yedday Naad. Chumbaybailloor ...	do.	N. E.	28	37	2	1	0
		Yedday Naad. Imungulla ...	do.	S. E.	68	52	1	1	110
		Yedday Naad. Poodthakatay ...	do.	N. W.	21	30	1	5	110
		Yedday Naad. Kookoolloor ...	do.	„	6	0	1	0	110
		Yedday Naad. Muggulla ...	do.	S. E.	80	30	1	2	0

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yardes.
Yedday Naku Naad (*contd.*)	Hioroor Naad. Balaugode ...	Veerajenderpett.	S. E.	22	15	2	7	55
	Naingulla ...	do.	„	21	15	3	5	0
	Bittumgaula ...	do.	„	31	15	4	0	110
	Baithoal-ly Naad. Heggullu ...	do.	S. W.	36	0	5	1	120
	Baithoalley ...	do.	„	39	0	2	0	110
	Arrujee ...	do.	„	15	15	2	0	190
	Billagoonda ...	do.	N. E.	74	15	2	1	100
	Ammuthu ...	Moogoataygayray.	„	52	30	4	1	100
	Poolyayray ...	do.	N. W.	18	45	5	4	55
	Kaumbaudy ...	Veerajenderpett.	„	49	45	2	5	110
	Karumaudu ...	do.	N. E.	7	0	4	0	30
Ammuthu Naad.	Kullathamaud ...	Moogootagayray.	N. W.	41	30	3	3	110
	Goatuwara ...	do.	„	38	0	2	0	95
	Byegoad ...	do.	„	54	30	2	6	5
	Kukkayray ...	do.	N. E.	29	15	1	1	105
	Hossoor ...	do.	N. W.	15	0	3	2	50
	Bettigayray ...	do.	„	22	30	4	7	5
	Hauthoor ...	do.	„	78	15	2	3	40
	Uttoor ...	do.	N. E.	31	52	3	0	192
	Hossokayray ...	do.	„	8	52	5	4	205
	Maykoor ...	do.	S. W.	37	15	6	5	52
	Korungaula ...	do.	„	44	0	6	1	110
	Wuddurhully ...	do.	„	47	45	5	0	110
	Chennienkotay ...	do.	„	26	52	5	3	10
	Koolungode ...	do.	„	37	30	4	1	165
	Naluwuttukulloo ...	Veerajenderpet.	S. E.	84	0	3	2	120
Baypu Naad.	Thomurra ...	do.	S. W.	66	45	6	2	110
	Mooroor ...	do.	N. W.	72	37	3	6	90
	Nalukayray ...	do.	„	46	37	5	1	165
	Mythaudy ...	do.	„	31	7	3	7	192
	Kuddhunoor ...	do.	„	86	15	2	3	0
	Kadhaymooley ...	do.	S. W.	77	45	3	1	205
	Arromulliay ...	do.	N. W.	58	37	3	2	10
	Koonjilugayray ...	do.	„	57	52	6	2	135
	Beulloomaud ...	do.	„	65	52	5	0	25

1091

Hobly or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Kuggoadloo Naad. Kooyeangayray Naad.	Auwundoor ...	Baingoor.	S. E.	79	37	4	7	15
	Betthathoor ...	do.	„	77	22	3	6	200
	Kauroogoonda ...	Muddukay-ray.	S. W.	50	30	5	0	110
	Arruwuttuckkooloo ...	do.	„	18	45	3	5	150
	Hayrow ...	do.	„	54	0	3	2	110
	Hooddoor ...	Veerajen-derpett.	N. W.	38	15	9	3	0
	Hoadthawaddoo ...	do.	„	43	7	10	0	0
	Koombulludhaulu ...	do.	„	36	22	10	6	110
	Pauloor ...	Todian-damale.	N. E.	36	0	10	2	110
	Kurrietthoor ...	do.	„	27	0	9	3	55
	Bettikayray ...	do.	S. W.	37	30	4	5	165
	Maddhay ...	Muddukay-ray.	S. W.	73	37	3	1	58
	Billigayray ...	do.	S. E.	19	30	3	5	110
	Kuggoadloo ...	Noorkul.	N. W.	81	15	2	7	70
	Haukudhu ...	do.	„	67	30	3	1	120
	Maykayray ...	Muddukayray.	S. E.	12	0	1	5	110
	Kautakayray ...	do.	S. W.	43	15	1	0	55
Bettieth Naad.	Moogootagayray ...	Moogoata-gayray.	S. E.	64	30	1	4	112
	Koondhudda ...	do.	N. W.	85	0	0	6	110
	Arruwuttuckkooloo ...	do.	N. E.	70	0	1	1	200
	Eechoor ...	do.	S. E.	27	0	2	1	0
	Shettyayray ...	do.	S. W.	19	15	2	7	165
	Kohgunna ...	do.	„	9	37	3	6	0
	Kothundee. ...	do.	„	35	52	4	0	55
	Baudhagha Hosokayray	do.	„	55	37	4	4	110
	Roodroogoopay ...	do.	„	77	52	4	1	110
	Kundungaula ...	do.	„	64	45	3	3	0
	Hooddhoor ...	do.	S. E.	46	0	2	7	55
	Hulleyguttoo ...	do.	„	59	22	2	2	162
	Baulajie ...	do.	N. E.	88	15	4	0	55
	Roodroobeudoo ...	do.	„	89	22	5	8	165
	Moyamoody ...	do.	„	72	30	3	0	95
	Hebbauly ...	do.	„	61	37	4	5	120
	Dhunnoogaulloo ...	do.	„	85	0	6	0	110

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Kaunthamoor Naad.	Kodamboor ...	Verajender-pett.	N. W.	36	15	8	2	187
	Baudagha ...	do.	„	36	30	6	7	110
	Kiggauloo ...	do.	„	22	15	6	5	0
	Ikola ...	do.	„	14	15	7	5	27
	Moothooamoody ...	do.	„	23	22	9	4	0
	Kaunthoor ...	do.	„	22	15	8	4	0

KIGGUTT NAAD TALOOK.

Contains 7 *Naads*:—

Unjigayray Naad.

Aurykayray do.

Tawullugayray do.

Koorchy Toru do.

Kirrigoor do.

Hutthacuttu do.

Murray do.

1093

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Unjigayray Naad.	Baingoor ...	Moogoata-gayray	S. E.	20	30	4	0	110
	Nurrookola Chaynawara	do.	„	28	15	3	5	82
	Muggoatagayray ...	do.	„	49	15	4	1	55
	Nuddukayray ...	do.	„	41	30	5	0	30
	Hoodookayray ...	do.	„	25	0	5	4	165
	Toowutchumukkulookayray ...	do.	„	50	45	6	2	165
	Atchinakanumoondoor.	do.	„	44	7	5	7	55
	Beully Moondoor ...	do.	„	56	52	8	4	0
	Hyesoadooloo ...	Beerunnaay.	N. E.	65	0	7	3	110
	Konaygayray ...	do.	„	63	45	8	4	55
Tawullugayray Aurikayray naad Naad.	Beullyoor ...	Moogoata-gayray.	S. E.	79	45	8	1	207
	Dawunnoor ...	do.	„	82	15	10	4	0
	Baullullay ...	do.	„	79	7	9	1	110
	Nummullay ...	Beerunnaay.	S. E.	89	45	9	0	55
	Shattygayray ...	do.	N. E.	81	15	8	4	0
	Tawullugayray ...	do.	S. E.	75	0	8	5	0
	Belloor ...	do.	N. E.	69	45	9	5	55
	Harrihara ...	Brummagerry.	„	1	15	9	7	55
	Nallakayray ...	do.	„	10	0	8	6	55
	Kothoor ...	Moogoata-gayray.	S. E.	59	15	9	1	110
Kirrigoor Koorchy Toru Naad.	Koorchy ...	Brummagerry.	N. W.	14	15	3	7	165
	Sirimungullay ...	do.	N. E.	7	15	4	1	0
	Tyladhu ...	do.	„	18	22	3	1	55
	Kootthu ...	do.	„	44	22	3	3	55
	Koomuttoor ...	do.	„	10	37	5	3	10
	Mutthoor ...	Moogoatagayray.	S. E.	64	30	4	7	110
	Kotoor ...	do.	„	59	30	6	6	110
	Bissagoor ...	do.	„	70	15	7	6	55
	Nulloor ...	do.	„	76	15	6	7	0
	Kirrigoor ...	do.	„	79	15	5	0	10
Hutthacuttu Naad.	Bekkaysodoloor ...	do.	S. E.	66	0	8	4	0
	Niddugoomba ...	do.	„	70	15	10	0	0
	Kaunoor ...	do.	„	61	45	9	3	0
	Kotaygayray ...	do.	„	74	0	12	4	0

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Murray Naad.	Beerunnauny ...	Beerunnauny	S. E.	85	30	2	0	0
	Porawaddu ...	do.	N. E.	80	30	5	3	0
	Baudughagerrikayray.	do.	„	75	30	5	2	0

SOOLEEAY TALOOK.

is divided into two large portions, Umr and Sooleay.

UMR TALOOK,

Contains 5 Magunnies:—

Kolumuggurra Magunnie.

Kunderpaudee do.

Chokaudee do.

Moghurrudhu do.

Yainakul Dawarhully do.

1095

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Kolumuggurra Magunnie.	Keiraybaugha ...	Soobramuhni.	S. W.	42	0	5	3	10
	Hurriharu Pullathoada-kukurjoday ...	do.	„	60	37	6	2	0
	Kuttudu ...	do.	„	51	52	7	5	147
	Kolumuggurra Yed-doonooroo ...	do.	„	39	30	7	5	27
	Kullumukar or Kud-dumukull ...	do.	„	27	37	8	5	147
Kunderpaudee Magunnie.	Dawachallu ...	Chokaudee.	S. E.	40	52	3	0	120
	Moodapaudee ...	do.	„	51	45	6	0	17
	Kunderpaudee ...	do.	„	70	0	6	1	180
	Gotugar ...	do.	„	83	52	2	3	147
	Nallukoor ...	do.	N. E.	88	30	4	7	0
	Kullujee ...	Soobramee-hni.	S. W.	89	22	7	1	140
Chokaudee Magunnie.	Moodoonoor ...	Chokaudee.	S. W.	72	30	1	7	65
	Puduwanoor ...	do.	„	86	7	3	6	110
Moghurrudhee Magunnie.	Moghurrudhee ...	do.	N. E.	68	30	3	5	0
	Mullakajeebeulluku ...	do.	„	61	15	2	7	77
Yainakul Dawar-hully Magunnie.	Poochupaudy ...	do.	„	66	0	4	6	110
	Yainakul ...	do.	„	59	0	6	1	110
	Dawarhully ...	do.	„	71	45	7	2	192
	Buleela ...	Soobramuhni.	S. W.	82	55	6	5	165
	Kainnay (this is situated in Punjee belongs to this)	Ckokaudee.	N. E.	19	7	4	5	110

SOOLEEAY TALOOK.

Contains 6 Magunnies:—

Bulla Naad Magunnie.
Puduwanoor do.
Moodoonoor do.
Iddurrukah do.
Arranthode do.
Uddoor do.

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Puduwanoor Bulla naad Magunnie.	Kaimbrayjee ...	Chokaudee.	S. E.	20	15	2	7	40
	Moodoonoor ...	do.	„	34	15	4	7	165
	Murrukoonjee ...	do.	„	16	45	4	6	110
Puduwanoor Magunnie.	Mundacole ...	Uddoor.	N. E.	74	37	4	7	37
	Adjeewaramainala ...	do.	„	80	27	8	0	55
	Mooliah Kaunthmungala	do.	„	75	30	9	6	0
	Jaulsoor Kautoor ...	do.	„	63	30	9	6	110
	Amburuttee Payrauloo	do.	„	69	27	7	4	82
Moodoonoor Magunnie.	Kookoonoorsonangayray	do.	S. W.	59	0	5	0	0
	Koyekole Bittumpaudee	do.	„	39	0	4	7	120
	Ooburrurrukkumittoor	do.	„	10	0	4	2	55
	Ammaymuddiaroo ...	do.	„	21	0	5	5	55
	Kaunhittoolookairrathoday.	do.	„	37	30	6	2	165
Iddurulah Magunnie	Yannara ...	do.	S. E.	83	0	6	5	0
	Allaytee	Payrahjee.	N. W.	50	30	4	7	110
Arranthode Magunnie.	Arranthode Urroothully.	Payrahjee.	N. E.	24	0	5	0	110
	Bhylhully	Moodapaudee.	S. W.	42	27	3	7	37
	Thoorikauhna ...	Payrahjee.	N. E.	70	7	2	0	82
Uddoor Magunnie.	Uddoor	Uddoor.	N. E.	39	22	1	4	192
	Dhaylumpaudee ...	do.	„	40	15	5	7	55
	Beullupaudee ...	do.	„	55	52	6	4	192
	Konnakumunjula ...	do.	„	51	0	7	5	55
	Myaula ...	do.	„	22	0	3	4	110

POOTTOOR TALOOK.

Contains 4 Magunnies:—

Punjee Magunnie.

Nettinukay do

Bullary do

Poottoor do

1097

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	'	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Punjee Magunnie.	Bullapu ...	Chokaudee.	N. W	32	30	4	5	125
	Kayempaudee ...	do.	„	21	27	5	4	0
	Audookaru ...	do.	„	41	52	4	4	137
	Bullupu Moodoonoor .	do.	„	38	45	5	6	140
	Arrugoody ...	do.	„	31	27	5	7	165
	Poolikooku ...	do.	N. W	7	0	5	7	0
	Punjee Moodoonoor ...	do.	N. E.	29	37	4	0	147
	Yennamoor ...	do.	N. W.	24	52	4	1	82
	Kaunchody ...	do.	„	56	30	3	4	147
	Kullumudduku ...	do.	„	61	30	2	3	85
	Eyewuttukkooloo ...	do.	„	1	7	3	4	0
	Punjee Devarhully ...	do.	N. E.	4	0	2	7	115
	Pudduwanoor ...	do.	N. W.	29	7	2	4	165
	Pumbaythaudee ...	do.	„	11	30	2	2	165
	Kukkunichiddukulloo .	do.	N. E.	25	7	2	4	10
	Koothookoonjay ...	do.	„	37	52	1	7	12
	Yeddamungulla ...	Kul Betta.	„	76	52	4	2	110
	Allayjee ...	do.	„	78	52	2	7	5
	Dholapaudee ...	do.	„	42	0	4	0	42
	Iddeeurrukku (this belongs to Bullaree.)	do.	„	28	27	2	3	10
	Amrakasupaudy ...	do.	„	9	37	2	7	137
Nettinukay Magunnie.	Bettumpaudee ...	Maddhow.	N. W.	81	15	6	6	135
	Niddoopoolly ...	do.	S. W.	89	45	5	3	82
	Arrieddookah ...	do.	N. W.	70	0	3	3	110
	Mahdeonoor ...	do.	„	73	15	1	3	110
	Nettinukay ...	do.	S. W.	73	30	7	5	55
	Koombrajee ...	Niddoopoolly	„	54	30	6	0	55
	Ooperungaulla ...	do.	„	58	30	7	7	117
	Puddurray ...	Maddhow.	„	80	0	10	1	67
	Payrudhaulloo ...	Niddoopoolly	„	78	52	10	1	192
	Baillu ...	do.	„	73	45	12	0	175
	Belloor ...	do.	„	42	15	3	3	192
	Moodoonoor ...	Bella Naad.	S. E.	86	0	6	3	55
	Ahdhoor ...	Uddoor.	N. W.	47	7	3	4	110
Bullary Magunnie.	Moghurra ...	Kul Betta.	N. W.	47	27	5	1	42
	Sumpaudee	do.	„	56	45	5	0	142
	Poonachupaudee ...	do.	„	65	0	4	4	87
	Koomaramungulla ...	Maddhow.	N. E.	15	0	4	2	0

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Bullary Magunnie. (*Continued.*)	Bembeelah ...	Kul Betta.	N. E.	68	37	3	7	82
	Paulathaudee ...	Maddhow.	„	52	30	2	4	137
	Maddhow ...	do.	„	43	30	1	2	0
	Kollutugay ...	do.	S. E.	89	7	2	3	110
	Douen Kollutugay ...	do.	„	57	0	2	1	192
	Moondoor ...	do.	S. W.	35	52	2	3	110
	Surrooay ...	do.	N. W.	2	37	5	7	127
	Yellia	do.	„	6	45	4	4	137
	Kaidumpaudee ...	do.	„	26	27	4	3	147
	Kayoor ...	do.	„	1	27	3	4	137
	Jary Naad ...	Kul Betta.	S. E.	7	15	4	4	147
	Bullary ...	do.	„	7	15	2	0	137
	Tuntapaudee ...	do.	„	25	27	3	1	27
	Peerayjee ...	do.	S. W.	70	45	1	6	95
	Chinnawarra ...	do.	„	72	15	2	2	0
	Payrumoonda ...	do.	N. W.	73	0	2	1	22
	Sowanoor ...	do.	„	57	15	3	4	65
	Koodoomar ...	do.	„	45	0	3	5	67
	Bellundoor ...	do.	„	39	0	2	6	120
	Koonkia ...	do.	„	49	0	2	4	102
	Nettar ...	do.	S. W.	19	45	2	5	165
	Augullee ...	do.	N. W.	25	0	2	1	55
	Kaiemunna ...	do.	„	25	15	2	7	72
	Koomoothaudy ...	do.	„	22	45	3	4	7
	Murrukutta ...	do.	„	8	27	2	4	192
	Muggurunjee ...	do.	N. E.	7	52	1	6	165
	Nauleelah ...	do.	N. W.	5	0	3	4	82
	Chirrooaka ...	do.	„	2	0	4	3	10
	Kaunyoor ...	do.	N. E.	2	52	0	7	110
	Kullupuddhuttu (this belongs to Punjee) ...	do.	„	81	52	0	6	0
	Koondoolee ...	do.	„	76	52	1	7	82
	Moorooleea ...	do.	S. E.	81	37	1	7	120
	Pijivina ...	do.	„	75	7	2	7	110
	Murruweenjee ...	do.	„	62	15	3	5	15
	Moopayreea ...	do.	„	52	27	2	6	90
	Budjinnie ...	do.	„	45	30	1	6	57
	Kodeaulee ...	do.	S. W.	8	7	0	5	42
	Turrukujee ...	do.	S. E.	7	15	1	3	197
	Bauleela ...	do.	„	46	30	3	0	110

Hobely or Naad.	VILLAGE NAMES.	Trigonometrical point from whence observed.	Bearings.	°	′	Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.
Bullary Magunnie (*Contd.*).	Kootee ...	Chokaudee.	N. W.	75	15	3	7	110
	Moondoogaroo ...	Kul Betta.	S. E.	38	15	3	5	15
	Nuddoobittoo ...	do.	N. W.	35	0	1	1	110
	Kullumbee (in Punjee)	do.	N. E.	68	30	3	7	110
	Kullunjee ...	do.	S. E.	31	37	2	7	55
	Baillaioor ...	Bella Naad.	„	14	30	3	5	32
	Bellanaad ...	do.	„	25	37	1	1	0
	Aariapoo ...	do.	„	58	30	3	5	197
	Ooloomuggurra ...	Maddhow.	N. W.	57	0	4	5	147
	Pullupinjee ...	do.	„	45	27	4	6	130
	Kooreeah ...	Bella Naad.	S. E.	63	30	5	2	110
	Paulinjee ...	do.	N. W.	74	30	4	7	110
	Adjallaudee ...	Maddhow.	N. E.	25	22	5	6	5
	Kuddiah ...	do.	„	12	15	6	1	110
	Kayminjee ...	Bella Naad	S. E.	89	0	3	6	200
	Neirymuggurra ...	Kul Betta.	N. W.	89	45	5	6	110
	Veramungulla ...	Bella Naad.	N. E.	49	0	6	6	165
	Alluddooka ...	do.	„	68	45	5	0	165
Poottoor Magunnie.	Santagode ...	do.	„	76	27	6	5	27
	Poottoor ...	do.	„	76	37	2	1	215
	Oormullay ...	do.	„	70	0	4	3	0
	Chiku Moodoonoor ...	do.	„	59	0	4	1	110
	Beullypaudee ...	do.	„	53	37	5	6	0
	Bunnoor ...	do.	„	43	0	3	2	77
	Kodimpaudee ...	do.	„	45	0	5	1	197
	Nuckullaudee ...	do.	„	37	27	6	5	140
	Bellioor ...	do.	„	22	27	4	7	82
	Pairnay ...	do.	„	16	7	4	7	55
	Pudduwanoor ...	do.	„	20	7	2	7	55
	Kubbukku ...	do.	N. W.	9	27	2	4	110
	Kullookah ...	do.	N. E.	30	0	1	6	0
	Koodypaudee ...	do.	N. W.	36	15	1	1	55

General View and Description of the Boundary

DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles. °	Angles. '	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yds.	Objects.
* The Division between Mysore and Wynaad takes place at the N. W. angle of the latter district and is there formed by the Kaydaygaholay. Quitting Moogooda X; the boundary passes over undulating slopes and through a thick Forest to 138.—It here crosses the Naugur holay which is tolerably large.	„	31	15	„	3	110	Division of Wynaad and Mysore Moogooda X.
	„	75	45	„	4	170	
	141	46	„	„	7	110	
	140	30	30	„	4	165	
	„	18	15	„	3	110	
		79	45	„	4	100	
	138	16	58	„	4	165	Division of
	137	40	30	„	5	55	Koorchy Toru
	136	51	15		4	40	Naad.
Quitting the Naugur holay the boundary passes over similar ground and an equally thick jungle to 131 when it passes the Saurtee holay an inconsiderable stream	135	85	45	½	„	„	
	134	33	„	„	4	„	Division of
	133	5	„	„	6	55	Tawulluga y ra y
	13	5	„	„	3	5	Naad. Here pass
	13	338	45	„	1	90	Sauntee holay.
Leaving this stream the line of Demarcation between the two Territories passes through a country differing in no particular from what has been described the slopes over which the line passes are low and covered with a thick Forest it crosses the large road to	130	338	45	„	3	55	Small.
	„	350	30	„	4	110	
	„	332	„	„	4	165	
	129	332	„	„	3	165	
	„	347	15		1	120	
	128	347	15	„	3	„	
	„	7	15	„	3	40	
	127	334	45	„	5	„	
	126	334	45	„	2	120	
	„	352	30	„	2	55	
	125	352	30	„	3	165	
	124	6	45	„	2	10	
	„	339	15	„	1	55	
	123	339	15	„	3	55	Division of
Heggadavencotta at 122, and quitting it continues exactly of the same character to	122	341	15	„	5	110	Huttucotta Naad
	„	318	45	„	3	110	and here cross
	121	318	45	„	5	165	large road to
	120	355	45	„	2	110	Heggadavencot-
	119						ta.
		355	45	„	1	90	
	„	319	15	„	2	100	
	117	328	10	„	4	200	
	116	348	15	„	5	110	
	115	311	45	„	3	100	Koomanoor
Koomanoor Parra 114, on the bank of the Luchmun Tirut.	114						Parra on bank of the Luchmun Tirut.

DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distance. Miles.	Distance. Furlongs.	Distance. Yds.	Objects.
Crossing the above river from this point it proceeds 6½ Furlongs through a forest, whence descending into the River, its waters mark the Division till to 109. The river of this distance has high banks, a sandy bottom and is not easy to be crossed.	112	350	15	„	3	„	
	111	350	15	„	2	10	
	110	350	15	„	1	55	
	109	350	15	„	3	200	
		350	15	„	2	„	
	108	312	30	„	2	55	
		237	45	„	3	140	
	107	269	„	„	2	„	
	106	302	„	„	2	55	
		287	15	„	4	180	
	105	311	45	„	2	110	
	„	343	15	„	2	„	
Quitting the Luchmun Tirut the country becomes rather steeper, the Boundary slightly ascending, proceeds over a comparatively high ridge of slopes till reaching 100.	„	322	58	„	2	110	
	„	335	45	„	4	110	
	„	308	45	„	1	165	
	104	334	45	„	2	55	
	„	334	45	„	4	165	
	103	320	30	„	1	170	
	„	320	30	„	1	170	
	102	352	„	„	2	165	
	„	293	30	„	3	„	
	„	313	55	„	3	„	
	101	271	5	„	4	„	
	100	247	„	„	4	110	
From this point to Cuddeway holay a small stream forms the division till to 99.	„	308	45	„	7	60	
	„	289	15	„	2	200	
	99	219	30	„	1	55	
Thence it proceeds to 98 having here ascended the summit of the Mawcull ridge it proceeds along it, passing frequent acclivities to 83.	„	272	15	„	4	100	
	98	229	45	„	2	165	
	„	300	45	„	2	165	
	„	340	40	„	2	55	
	„	320	30	„	4	„	
The whole of this Distance (that is from 98 to 83 is a continued range of small Hills which is covered	97	350	15	„	1	170	
	96	49	„	„	3	50	
	95	346	30	1	2	„	
	„	310	„	„	2	55	
	„	294	45	„	3	110	
	94	315	30	„	5	55	
	„	315	30	„	1	20	
	„	355	30	„	4	165	
	„	316	45	„	2	55	
	93	„	„	„	0	200	
	„	„	„	„	1	„	
	„	29	15	„	3	„	
	92	„	„	„	1	110	
	„	309	30	„	1	165	
	91	344	15	„	3	55	

DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
with a high impervious	90	272	45	0	1	0	
Forest forms an excellent	89	272	45	0	3	10	
boundary, Mawcull and Seed-	88	340	15	0	3	55	
asweer are the most conspicu-	„	278	„	0	3	55	
ous tops of it.	„	326	30	0	3	165	
Quitting the Seedasweer	85	283	45	0	5	170	
range of hills the boundary	84	262	15	0	4	55	
gently descends and follow-	„	262	15	0	0	110	
ing the course of a small nalla	83	329	30	0	0	165	
for a considerable distance	„	329	30	0	6	0	
meets the Bhyrun holay	„	345	15	0	3	165	
along whose Stream it passes	„	324	15	0	5	165	
till reaching the Cauvery river	„	„	„	0	7	20	
to 81 close to the village of	82	307	10	0	2	90	
Rungasamoodrum.	„	345	10	0	3	55	
	„	275	15	1	0	0	
	81	243	15	0	4	55	

REMARKS on the foregoing Borders of the Boundary.

From the point (Moogooda *x*.) marking the Division between Mysore and Wynaad, till the line of separation falls into the Cauvery near Rungasamoodrum, the boundary passes through a thick forest nearly impervious in many parts, it proceeds partly over undulating slopes, and partly over the crest of the low range of the Seedasweer Hills:—this part of the Frontier is crossed but in few places, having but three large roads, and those indifferent throughout it, and the woods extending a considerable distance on each side of the line of demarcation render it naturally strong, difficult to be approached, and easily defended.

From Rungasamoodrum		0	0	„	5	0	
till Moogooda E. the Cauvery		41	5	„	4	110	
forms the boundary its breadth		3	15	„	2	0	
is during this distance about		29	45	„	7	0	
½ of a mile—the banks are		10	45	„	6	55	
always high, and steep, and		85	15	„	4	55	
the bed rocky, it may be con-		47	0	1	0	55	
sidered as constituting a		77	15	1	3	55	
strong frontier from June to		90	30	„	3	55	
August inclusive, it can only		342	30	„	7	110	
be passed in a boat, the stream		45	30	„	4	110	
however for the remainder		317	0	1	1	110	
of the year admits of its be-		351	15	„	3	110	
ing forded in some places, but		16	0	1	3	0	
the elevation of its banks,		72	0	„	4	165	
renders it readily defensible		17	0	„	5	110	
during the early part of the							
country in							

1103

DESCRIPTION.	No.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
its vicinity consists of steep slopes partially covered with jungle, advancing to the north however this gives way to open cultivated plains		99	10	0	7	165	
		22	5	0	4	165	
		312	„	1	„	55	
		„	„	0	3	70	
		96	15	0	6	55	
		18	48	0	3	55	
		323	30	0	6	160	
		63	30	0	4	110	
		109	45	0	7	110	
		49	45	0	5	165	
		7	30	0	2	55	
	83	334	„	0	2	0	Moogooda. E.
		220	35	0	2	110	
		311	15	0	3	0	
commencing from Moogooda E. where the boundary quits the Cauvery it passes		280	45	0	7	55	
		322	45	0	4	55	
		„	„	0	5	110	
over a small Nulla till to 79.	79	300	15	0	1	55	
		222	35	0	2	10	
		189	5	0	3	0	
		224	30	0	1	60	
Thence it runs between the village of Kautinhully	77	175	45	0	4	165	
and Villoor and proceeds over		292	15	0	6	70	
easy slopes to 75.	76	270	15	0	4	0	
From this point it passes	75	162	55	1	„	130	
for a very short way through the bed of a small tank and ascends a rather steep ridge to 74.	74	265	58	0	6	0	
Thence it continues to		327	40	1	„	40	
pass over a rather stony ridge of irregular height till	73	345	„	1	„	165	
Thence descending it passes	72	336	30	1	2	200	
two small tanks at 71 and meets another close to 70.	71	24	„	0	3	123	2 Small tanks.
		325	28	0	1	157	
	70	26	35	0	1	165	Small tank.
Quitting it the boundary		271	58	0	2	0	Division of
proceeds over a similar country to 69.		290	30	0	4	137	Counagaul
	69	305	15	0	1	200	Gunniagoor with
From which till to 68 it passes through the bed of the	68	62	35	0	4	0	Arculgoad.
		337	40	0	5	13	Cuddavay holay.
Cudvayholay here small. Quitting this nulla the boundary		2	35	0	7	110	Small division of
passes over easy slopes till to near 66 when it runs for a very short way over steeper ones but again proceeds over a low flattish country covered with a light jungle to 64.	65	14	30	0	5	0	Counagaul Modoor with Arculgoad.
	64	82	30	0	2	82	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. '	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
							Mooloor and
Thence to 63 it passes along the Chenholay.	63	334	28	„	6	„	Neiratoda with Arculgoad and
Quitting which it runs over a similar country to what has just been mentioned passing along the banks of two small tanks at 62 and 61.	62	90	„	„	6	55	Chenholay small.
		120	34	„	2	69	2 small tanks.
	61	„	„	„	5	55	
Quitting them it continues to proceed over a rather flat country, passes close to the village of Sheaghurra at 57 continues of the same character to 53, here it passes the slopes running from Mensi gootta which are comparatively steep, it crosses the great road to Mysore at 51 and runs over an open waving country to 49 passing for the greater part of this distance between cultivation, here it joins the Chenholay and continues passing through it to 48.—It proceeds over a close country to 46 where it crosses the great road to Mullyputna from this point it proceeds over rather steep slopes and through a jungly country to 42.		70	15	„	1	165	
		18	15	„	2	100	
		349	32	„	5	„	Cross great road
		26	32	„	2	165	to Mysore.
	56	12	50	„	4	27	
	55	347	30	„	2	55	Division of Men-
		284	30	„	3	69	sedda and Hola-
	51	294	55	1	„	55	code with Arcul-
		343	10	„	7	68	goad. Here meet
	50	11	45	1	1	55	the Chenholay.
	49	328	10	„	5	165	
		347	15	„	2	165	Division of Hola-
	48	9	„	„	2	10	code and Coodoo-
	47	80	30	„	5	123	loor with Arcul-
	46	96	10	„	3	27	goad. Cross great
	45	51	15	„	2	41	road to Mully-
	44	28	15	„	1	62	putna.
	43	34	55	„	6	62	
		„	„	„	1	123	
	42	85	30	„	5	110	
From this it proceeds over cultivation mostly to 41 where quitting fields it passes through a rather jungly country to 40—when it joins the Hemmawutty.		19	55	„	1	44	Division of
		60	10	„	2	192	Maharajdroog,
	41	336	28	„	6	„	Coodooloor and
	40	354	„	„	3	44	Arculgoad. Moo-
							gooda D.

Leaving the Cauvery at Moogooda E., it will be seen that the boundary passes over a country much more open than the previous part, the thick forest has given way to a jungle of light brushwood occasionally interspersed with trees of a larger growth, but the wood is in scarcely any place sufficiently thick to answer the purpose of defence. The declivities over which the line of division passes during this distance are few and inconsiderable.

1105

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yds.	Objects.
		271	58	„	4	55	
		258	15	„	6	110	
		294	15	„	4	165	
		270	„	„	4	„	
		285	58	„	1	165	
		313	15	„	2	165	
		346	15	„	4	110	
		287	15	„	2	165	
		314	58	„	2	165	
The general character of the Hemmawutty river will be found in its proper place this portion of it is only fordable for a part of the year, the country on its borders is formed of open waving slopes well cultivated and inhabited. The breadth of the river is about six hundred feet, it has rather a rocky bed, and the height and precipitous steepness of its banks renders it a good natural defence.		271	30	„	1	165	
		215	10	„	1	110	
		190	„	„	4	165	
		238	35	„	2	„	Division of Coodooloor Coadley and Mahrajee.
		275	40	„	3	„	
		313	30	„	2	„	
		337	35	„	6	„	
		259	28	„	4	110	
		333	28	„	6	110	
		236	„	„	2	„	
	37	196	„	1	2	„	Moogooda C.
		235	15	„	„	55	Division of Mahrajee
Quitting the Hemmawutty the boundary passes over the Kauty holay, this nulla has generally a good flow of water, its banks are low and it is fordable most part of the year to 36.		180	„	„	3	55	
		150	58	„	2	165	Mungeerabad and Coadley.
		180	„	„	4	110	
		219	30	„	2	„	
		180	„	„	2	55	
	36	138	„	„	5	165	
		161	32	„	3	110	
		161	32	„	1	55	
	35	104	10	„	2	110	
From this it passes through a little paddy cultivation to 33.	33	180	„	„	„	165	
		259	„	„	1	55	
Thence it again proceeds along the Kaity holay to 31 whence quitting it, it runs along a smaller branch of this nulla to 28. Quitting this nulla the boundary passes over comparatively easy and open slopes to 25. From this point it slightly descends and passes a small stream and the cultivation of Yeggudhully close to 24 where it crosses the road to Bissly. From this the boundary slightly descends running close to some cultivation and crossing a large branch of the Kauty holay at 22.		208	30	„	2	„	
	31	249	35	„	4	200	
	22	294	„	„	2	100	
		269	30	„	3	120	
	28	180	„	„	2	120	
	26	150	28	„	5	63	
	25	216	35	„	5	63	
		176	„	„	6	„	
		202	15	„	4	„	
		180	„	„	1	120	Yeggudhully close and here cross road to Bissly.
	24	124	20	„	1	55	
	23	158	10	„	4	„	
							Cross a large
	22	106	15	„	2	200	branch of the Kauty holay.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
		124	„	„	5	137	
		159	10	„	4	„	
		102	20	„	2	165	
	21	31	„	„	1	110	
		77	„	„	1	110	
	20	148	30	„	3	55	
		164	15	„	3	55	
		134	50	„	2	100	
		175	„	„	5	110	
		209	30	„	3	„	Division of
	19	180	„	„	2	120	Mooloor, Gowd-
		255	40	„	5	110	hully and Mun-
		288	10	„	3	„	geerabad.
	17	255	30	„	4	110	
	16	230	„	„	4	110	Cross cultiva-
	15	307	„	„	4	110	tion, Division of
		245	„	„	4	„	Gowdhully.
	14	278	„	„	4	„	Yeddoca Naad
		308	10	„	4	110	and Mungeera-
		336	40	„	7	120	bad.
	12	318	„	1	3	165	
		222	40	1	„	110	
	10	265	15	„	1	165	
	9	306	20	„	2	143	
		243	„	„	5	55	
	8	259	20	„	3	165	
		217	28	„	2	110	
	7	180	„	„	1	165	
	6	265	15	„	3	55	
	5	240	30	„	4	„	Cross Cud-
	4	290	30	1	1	„	dung.
		322	„	„	5	55	
	3	311	„	„	3	55	
		333	10	„	5	55	
	2	276	28	1	1	100	
		330	15	„	3	55	
		274	45	„	6	„	
		225	55	„	7	„	
		249	28	„	6	55	
		223	30	„	4	120	
		234	45	„	3	55	
		285	30	„	4	90	
	1	180	„	„	6	55	
Leaving Moogooda the	2	103	30	„	3	27	
boundary after some distance	3	129	40	„	3	27	
begins to ascend the sides	4	180	„	„	3	110	
of the steep and jungly hill of Soobramuhni and passing within							

1107

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
a short distance of the summit of that hill reaches the top of a ridge proceeding from it at 5. From this it descends with great steepness to 6, having run for a short distance through a small nulla in one of the clefts it continues to pass through till 9, where it joins another one of greater magnitude along which it passes, following its various windings to 20 where running close by the village of Yeddoonoor. This nulla is joined by another large one running from the foot of the Kuddumkull ghaut, the nulla over which this boundary runs is small, but, till passing the foregoing village it runs through an exceeding steep and jungly country, the fall of the ghauts being till within a short distance of that place almost precipitous, quitting the village of Yeddanooroo the boundary passes over the Kuddumkull holay till to 22, quitting it, it proceeds over easy slopes, and again joins the small nulla close to the village of Agrarum at 25. The last short distance being close to the cultivation of that village from this to 26, it passes along the Kuddumkull holay, here quitting it runs close to the cultivation of Baulleela, and ascends with some slight steepness till to 29, thence it proceeds along a ridge (the first part rather steep the latter gently decreasing in elevation, but the whole covered with a rather thick jungle) and passing the great road to Soobramuhni at 31, meets the Coomardarry river close to the village of Hosohully at 33.	5	225	„	„	3	110	Division of Kolumuggurra and Yeddoor Nead.
	6	142	„	1	2	„	
	7	214	30	„	7	55	
	8	189	30	„	3	166	
	9	153	10	„	4	„	
	10	268	40	„	2	55	
	11	224	„	„	1	110	
	12	247	„	„	2	166	
	13	214	30	„	6	55	
	14	308	45	„	3	55	
	15	271	40	„	3	120	
	16	240	15	„	2	110	
	17	293	30	„	2	110	
	18	261	„	„	3	„	
	19	213	20	„	7	166	
	20	269	30	„	4	166	
	21	347	56	„	3	120	
	22	306	15	„	2	200	
	23	337	40	„	3	190	
	24	301	15	„	3	166	Village of Agrarum close Division of Hoolumuggurra and Kunderpaudee.
	25	242	30	„	3	100	
	26	330	30	„	6	55	
	27	58	„	„	1	„	
	28	99	15	„	4	137	
	29	44	50	„	3	27	
	30	334	15	1	0	55	Division of Kunderpaudee and Yainkull Daverhully. Pass great road toSoobramuhni.
	31	352	40	„	7	„	
	32	90	40	„	2	110	
	33	36	15	„	2	55	

From the point where the boundary quits the Hemmawutty till crossing the small nulla at Chicka Tholoor close to Codugu betta (No. 14) it proceeds through a comparatively champaign country passing over open slopes and cultivated fields, and in no place during this distance can it be considered as at all difficult of access or offering any facilities for defence, quitting this nulla however, and having assumed the course of the hills along whose steep summits it passes, the frontier becomes stronger and easily defensible, and descending the ghauts by a deep and narrow valley continues of a similar character (with the exception of a very small space in the vicinity of Soobramuhni) till reaching the Coomardarry the stream of which from this point (No 33), commences to form the line of division.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distance. Miles.	Distance. Furlongs.	Distance. Yards.	Objects.
It will be seen that the Coomardarry constitutes the northern boundary for a considerable distance, it forms a good natural limit and tolerably strong barrier; as such however it is more formidable from the general height of its banks, than the depth of its stream which admits of its being forded in many places, and it is only in the rains that it can be considered as presentin g any serious obstacles in this particular; it is generally of narrow breadth in no part being greater than the seventh of a mile, the bed is of an uneven surface, being generally rocky. The country on the borders of this river consists of low steep slopes, partially covered with trees.	34	327	44	„	4	130	
	35	302	40	„	7	166	
	36	271	25	„	5	„	Division of Yanikul and Sicily.
	37	308	15	„	7	130	
	38	247	15	„	5	110	
	39	279	15	„	4	110	
	40	319	15	1	„	27	Division of Sicily and Kaumpaudy.
	41	270	40	„	5	60	
	42	217	10	„	6	110	
	43	264	15	„	4	„	Division of Kaumpaudy and Kaiemuhni from this the Division of Kaiemuhni and Punjay and from the 0·1·50 of Punjay and Bundady.
	44	298	50	„	6	166	
	45	231	40	1	2	10	
	46	283	45	„	6	„	
	47	4	15	1	1	30	
	48	314	„	„	6	55	
	49	266	10	1	„	27	
	50	314	40	„	4	55	
	51	301	10	1	1	„	
	52	317	28	„	4	110	Division of Bundady and Kuddubudda.
	53	286	10	„	3	„	
	54	299	„	„	3	166	
	55	264	40	„	3	55	Division of Kuddubudda & Amrakoopaudy.
	56	297	30	„	2	166	
This portion of the frontier is not crossed by any large communications, numerous parts however connect the villages on either side.	57	276	10	1	„	„	
	58	319	40	1	„	110	
	59	274	40	„	6	170	From this 0·5·50 is the Division of Amrakoopaudy and Bullary.
	60	227	30	„	7	55	
	61	231	20	„	3	100	
	62	205	40	„	3	110	
	63	273	„	2	1	„	
	64	305	40	„	4	55	From 0·6½ is the Division of Bullary and Poottoor.
	65	„	„	„	4	„	
	66	287	40	„		55	
	67	33	45	„	7	110	
	68	265	50	„	7	„	
	69	319	28	1	3	„	From this 0·1·75 is the Division of Poottoor and Baug Belloor.
	70	278	28	„	5	100	
	71	325	30	„	7	110	
	72	19	10	„	6	„	
	73	325	58	„	6	110	
	74	19	„	„	4	166	
	75	338	„	„	3	55	
	76	278	15	„	7	„	
	77	290	50	„	5	166	
	78	258	„	„	5	100	
	79	278	40	„	7	100	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Quitting the Nittrawutti (the name which the Coomardarry assumes after passing Copunungudday) the boundary passes along Pairnay holay till to 90, this stream is small, but has comparatively high banks. The numerous small valleys bordering it are well cultivated, but the country in its vicinity is of very irregular surface.	80	215	40	„	7	„	
	81	245	50	„	2	110	
	82	193	40	„	4	10	
	83	221	40	„	3	55	
	84	190	28	„	1	170	
	85	234	10	„	3	170	
	86	180	„	„	3	170	
	87	134	28	„	1	110	
	88	180	„	„	4	110	
	89	251	15	„	2	166	
	90	297	15	„	2	166	
Leaving this stream the line of division begins to pass over small hills and countries and to proceed over a rather rugged country till to 104 passing in this distance some small streams.	91	264	40	„	2	60	
	92	287	35	„	2	137	
	93	193	40	„	1	110	
	94	277	40	„	1	55	
	95	239	„	„	2	100	
	96	254	30	„	1	110	
From this it gradually ascends a rather steep ridge covered with jungle reach at 111, the summit of that range of hills of which Bulla Naad is the highest top.	97	140	50	„	1	166	
	98	173	30	„	2	60	
	99	134	30	„	1	166	
	100	82	„	„	1	110	
	101	134	35	„	3	200	
From the previous mentioned point till to 114, the boundary passes over the crest of the before mentioned range of hills which is here rather steep and covered with a thick forest.	102	187	30	„	2	110	
	103	238	15	„	3	140	
	104	254	40	„	4	55	
	105	143	50	„	5	10	
	106	91	30	„	1	120	
Thence the boundary descends and passes in an irregular direction over low but steep tops partially open crossing numerous small nullahs and cultivated valleys till to 124 where it falls into the Irrudday holay and continues along its stream till to 128. This river is here narrow its banks are not remarkable for their height, and it is readily ford able except immediately in the rains.	107	169	10	„	1	110	
	108	197	40	„	3	„	
	109	262	50	„	1	66	
	110	98	„	„	1	166	
	111	137	15	„	5	„	
	112	133	40	„	4	55	
	113	164	„	„	4	55	
	114	129	50	„	1	90	
	115	253	45	„	3	140	
	116	158	10	„	2	100	
	117	253	50	„	2	120	
	118	152	35	„	2	166	
	119	226	10	„	1	110	
	120	180	„	„	2	110	
	121	168	15	„	3	100	
	122	279	40	„	2	140	
	123	199	40	„	4	166	
	124	164	10	„	2	110	
	125	88	15	„	4	166	
	126	125	58	„	3	160	
	127	10	„	„	1	110	
	128	84	„	„	4	160	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
	129	191	40	„	2	160	
	130	167	30	„	1	„	
	131	278	50	„	2	„	
	132	256	50	„	5	„	
Leaving the river it proceeds over low and open slopes to 132.	133	180	„	„	2	„	
	134	190	15	„	4	110	
	135	151	„	„	2	10	
	136	169	10	„	3	160	
	137	229	50	„	2	100	
From this the boundary immediately ascends and having reached the summit proceeds over a steep and jungly ridge of hills to 142.	138	180	„	„	1	„	
	139	139	15	„	2	27	
	140	192	„	„	2	180	
	141	135	58	„	4	„	
	142	180	„	„	2	27	
From this the boundary continues with little exception to follow the summit of a rather low range of hills which are covered with a high jungle; this distance is crossed by one road and several foot paths; the numerous valleys formed by the small ridges extending themselves from this the great one, form intermediate valleys which are cultivated nearly from their rise.	143	125	„	„	6	55	
	144	268	„	„	1	110	
	145	312	55	„	2	55	
	146	279	„	„	1	110	
	147	302	50	„	2	60	
	148	262	50	„	1	166	
	149	180	„	„	2	27	
	150	243	„	„	2	166	
	151	324	35	„	4	27	
	152	31	30	„	2	100	
	153	334	„	„	5	20	
	154	277	15	„	2	27	
	155	339	„	„	3	„	
	156	300	45	„	2	165	
	157	236	10	„	1	115	
	158	205	35	„	1	165	
	159	275	35	„	6	„	
	160	232	5	„	4	110	
	161	180	„	„	4	„	
	162	217	35	„	2	115	
	163	278	„	„	3	165	
From the latter point the boundary commences to descend and passes over partly high and steep slopes partially open till crossing the Baudoo holay at 169.	164	265	58	„	5	110	
	165	263	45	„	4	110	
	166	225	„	„	3	5	
	167	255	10	„	3	120	
	168	288	5	„	4	„	
	169	248	40	„	5	165	

From the point where the boundary quits the Nittrawatti till reaching the Baudoo holay, it for a large part of this distance, runs along the summits of low ranges of hills. The forest with which they are covered however more than the elevation they present, would offer any difficulty which exists as to passing them, this distance it will be seen is crossed in numerous places, both by large roads and foot paths.—Indeed it (the boundary) is only partially covered by the hills on it, the immediate spaces between them giving a ready access to the interior.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. '	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Leaving the Bandoor holay the surface of the country becomes considerably flatter, the steep tops of the ridge just passed gives way to a flat table land whose rocky surface is quite devoid of jungle, the descent from this table into the cultivated valleys is short, but steep over the kind of country which has just been described, the boundary passes from 169 to 197, during this distance, it is every where to be passed with the utmost facility.	170	248	40	„	4	165	
	171	207	30	„	3	120	
	172	245	30	„	2	110	
	173	292	15	„	3	120	
	174	278	55	„	2	90	
	175	260	30	„	5	55	
	176	237	10	„	2	110	
	177	211	30	„	2	180	
	178	226	30	„	2	110	
	179	241	30	„	4	„	
	180	185	40	„	6	110	
	181	215	45	„	1	110	
	182	141	30	„	2	165	
	183	95	56	„	1	110	
	184	125	30	„	3	110	
	185	172	30	„	3	120	
	186	115	15	„	3	120	
	187	142	30	„	7	110	
	188	90	„	„	3	110	
	189	70	30	„	3	176	
	190	133	'	„	4	110	
	191	143	58	„	4	55	
	192	88	10	„	3	55	
	193	60	10	„	2	10	
	194	85	30	„	3	55	
Leaving the nulla which the boundary passes at the last mentioned point (197) it ascends and proceeds over a ridge of bare and somewhat steep slopes till to 210; this space is free from jungle and like the last one readily passed	195	41	30	„	2	55	
	196	18	45	„	4	55	
	197	„	„	„	2	5	
	198	43	10	„	2	5	
	199	29	25	„	3	190	
	200	88	58	„	1	55	
	201	128	48	„	6	110	
	202	114	„	„	3	200	
	203	166	30	„	3	55	
	204	111	58	„	5	55	
	205	71	45	„	2	120	
	206	6	15	„	4	55	
	207	36	„	„	2	55	
	208	78	58	„	2	110	
	209	114	„	„	2	110	
	210	156	„	„	2	165	
Quitting the last point the boundary proceeds over a ridge, partially covered with forest, considerably steeper than the former, and continues along its summits till to 214. From this it proceeds over low open slopes and	211	121	„	„	3	55	
	212	91	15	„	„	„	
	213	111	30	„	2	110	
	214	88	45	„	2	55	
	215	132	30	„	6	110	
	216	96	„	„	1	110	
	217	145	30	„	3	„	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances Miles.	Distances Furlongs.	Distances Yards.	Objects.
with some steepness towards the Puiswunni, reaches it at 221.	218	133	30	„	2	110	
	219	199	30	„	3	90	
The boundary having reached the Puiswunni at 221.	220	122	15	„	1	„	
	221	151	30	„	9	165	

From the point where the boundary quits the Baudoor holay till its falling into the Puiswunni, it is in almost every place to be passed without any kind of difficulty. Indeed for this distance it is quite factitious, runs over a country quite open, and is no where marked by natural limits.

	222	224	15	„	1	190	
	223	198	15	„	3	110	
	224	219	35	„	5	200	
The boundary having reached the Puiswunni at 221, is marked by its stream till to 228, this river is here only a furlong broad, and being deep, and having high and precipitous banks is not to be passed during this distance.	225	187	„	„	3	165	
	226	144	45	„	2	„	
	227	222	58	„	„	200	
	228	139	„	„	1	„	
	229	112	10	„	2	170	
	230	88	45	„	4	55	
Leaving the Puiswunni the line of separation runs along a small nulla till to 233. Its low banks and shallow stream renders it easily passed in all places.	231	58	45	„	3	110	
	232	91	15	„	4	90	
	233	55	30	„	3	120	
	234	76	15	„	2	110	
	235	107	„	„	6	60	
	236	80	30	„	3	165	
Ascending from this rivulet the boundary passes over a low but steep ridge of hills, covered with a thick jungle and continues to proceed over a rugged and uneven surface till reaching 241.	237	51	30	„	2	55	
	238	97	15	„	5	200	
	239	64	15	„	6	165	
	240	91	„	„	2	110	
	241	49	10	„	3	165	
At which points it meets a small nulla along which and partly through the cultivation of Bundeearka, it runs till to 246, having the country on each side steep and jungly.	242	106	30	„	3	165	
	243	127	15	„	1	110	
	244	81	30	„	1	165	
	245	129	15	„	2	165	
	246	97	45	„	3	120	
	247	29	15	„	3	165	
Leaving the cultivation the line marking the limits ascends with considerable steepness, passes for a short way over an elevated ridge till to 251.	248	334	35	„	3	110	
	249	75	„	„	3	110	
	250	96	10	„	3	55	
	251	110	„	„	3	110	
	252	201	15	„	4	40	
Whence it rapidly descends, crosses the valley through which it had before passed, and ascends a steep and elevated top till to 255.	253	159	35	„	7	55	
	254	100	15	„	2	110	
	255	144	30	„	6	„	
Whence it proceeds along the summits of a high and jungly ridge till to 257.	256	57	10	„	4	110	
	257	95	45	„	7	100	

From this where the boundary falls into the Puiswunni till reaching that elevated top at 257, it passes over rather high and steep slopes, the greater part a thick forest; this portion of frontier is only crossed by a foot-path, and yma be said to offer numerous obstacles to its being more generally traversed.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
	258	180	„	„	2	165	
	259	137	45	„	3	„	
Quitting this point the last mentioned boundary descends with great steepness till to 263, the latter part having passed along the bed of a small nulla.	260	188	55	„	5	160	
	261	140	45	„	5	„	
	262	174	35	„	2	170	
	263	231	30	„	3	110	
	264	110	„	„	1	110	
	265	74	„	„	5	165	
	266	36	45	„	2	165	
	267	220	45	„	3	110	
Quitting it, it runs for some distance along low slopes, gradually however ascending to the high and jungly top at 271.	268	60	15	„	5	55	
	269	22	45	„	3	„	
	270	247	15	„	5	20	
	271	10	45	„	3	110	
	272	81	15	„	4	120	
Whence it runs along the crest of a high ridge to 274.	273	32	„	„	7	110	
	274	91	55	1	1	120	
From this it descends and falling into a small nulla passes along it till to 277.	275	117	10	„	3	„	
	276	31	45	„	1	110	
	277	83	30	„	4	110	
	278	290	15	„	2	„	Left 165 yds the point.
	279	177	30	„	2	120	
	280	177	30	„	1	110	
Quitting this it runs along the bed of a similar stream till to 283. The cultivation of Cullapooly borders on those nullas, but the Cauvery in their neighbourhood is high and steep.	281	177	30	„	1	„	Left 200 yds the point.
	282	177	30	„	2	„	
	283	177	30	„	1	10	
	284	177	30	„	5	„	
	285	148	40	„	5	„	
	286	206	45	„	7	110	Here join large nulla.
From the last point the boundary ascends with steepness to 285	287	265	15	„	2	„	
	288	285	„	„	5	10	
	289	272	15	„	4	165	
From this top which is free from jungle, it descends and passing over numerous acclivities reaches a rather large nulla at 289. Along whose stream it passes till to 200, this nulla is rather large, has high banks but can be passed without difficulty.	290	305	58	„	2	„	
	291	254	30	„	1	120	
	292	274	„	„	5	20	
	293	237	10	„	2	„	
	294	284	30	„	2	10	
	295	204	„	„	1	20	
	296	245	40	„	3	55	
	297	180	„	„	2	30	
	298	139	„	„	2	„	
	299	185	„	„	2	„	

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	Angles. ′	Distances. Miles.	Distances. Furlongs.	Distances. Yards.	Objects.
Quitting it the line of division ascends one of its tributary streams to 302.	300	185	„	„	3	„	
	301	146	30	„	2	„	
	302	170	10	„	4	110	
Whence it passes into Purruthuddy point at 306, the latter part being particularly high and steep.	303	234	15	„	4	„	
	304	265	58	„	3	„	
	305	214	30	„	1	165	
	306	243	„	„	2	„	Parathuddy point.
Thence it proceeds along a steep and elevated ridge to 308, this latter portion being quite open.	307	143	58	„	1	55	
	308	96	15	1	1	„	
	309	178	„	1	1	165	Cross small nulla.
A steep descent to 309 passing over a small nulla, at this place it passes a steep ridge to 311.	310	140	„	„	5	„	
	311	172	15	„	7	55	
	312	127	15	„	5	„	
And ascends another of a similar nature to 315, the whole of this latter space being a thick jungle.	313	134	30	„	7	165	
	314	152	15	„	5	55	
	315	129	„	„	3	120	
	316	167	15	„	3	200	
	317	130	25	„	4	40	
It continues along a steep and precipitous ridge to 319.	318	177	15	1	1	110	
	319	131	„	„	5	„	
Whence descending, it falls into a small nulla and continues along it till uniting with the large one at 322.	320	154	„	„	3	190	
	321	128	55	„	3	55	Here join large nulla, the division of Tawa Naad and Paudy Naku Naad.
	322	108	56	„	2	55	
	323	189	25	„	3	55	
Having united with the large nulla at 325 it proceeds along its bed to 325.	324	228	30	„	6	75	
	325	186	15	„	7	165	
	326	60	45	„	2	„	
	327	„	„	„	1	100	
	328	36	30	„	4	100	
This stream is here joined by one of equal magnitude along which the line of separation ascends to 334, these 2 nullas are about 300 feet broad with steep banks and an excessively stony bed.	329	72	45	„	3	„	
	330	104	„	„	2	110	
	331	127	15	„	4	110	
	332	86	30	„	7	„	
	333	57	10	„	7	110	
	334	134	„	„	3	110	
	335	149	45	1	6	55	
Quitting this last point it ascends for a short distance up a small rivulet, quitting it, it reaches a high top whence it proceeds for a short distance along a high ridge, but leaving its descent passes over a minor one to 342.	336	87	10	„	5	20	
	337	118	„	„	4	„	
	338	161	15	„	4	100	
	339	180	„	„	2	110	
	340	101	30	„	4	15	
	341	131	30	„	3	55	
	342	209	45	„	3	40	
	343	158	30	„	2	100	
	344	205	„	„	2	„	

The last portion of boundary runs through a thick forest over steep ridges or elevated tops, it is only crossed in one place, and in that alone cannot be considered as at all passable.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	′	Distance. Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.	Objects.
From this last point it passes for a very short way along a small nulla but soon leaving it it ascends with steepness to 347.	345	175	45	„	4	70	
	346	137	10	„	7	55	
	347	115	„	„	4	165	
	348	201	10	„	4	55	
	349	130	30	„	4	55	
	350	104	15	„	3	200	
	351	68	30	„	2	55	
	352	171	45	„	5	20	
	353	144	„	„	3	60	
	354	236	45	„	3	120	
	355	129	30	„	4	200	
Quitting this it descends with equal rapidity, passes various small nullas and secondary ridges reaching, after a rugged and irregular course, the high top at 360.	356	106	58	„	3	„	
	357	154	15	„	1	40	
	358	82	10	„	2	100	
	359	133	30	„	1	165	
	360	77	„	„	1	100	A high Top.
From whence it passes a long ridge to 362.	361	149	50	„	4	165	
	362	159	„	„	3	165	
	363	87	30	„	4	„	
	364	109	„	„	6	„	
Whence it descends along the side of a small ridge to 366 ascending steeply to 367.	365	160	15	„	3	„	
	366	105	45	„	1	„	
	367	34	30	„	4	100	
	368	181	45	„	3	100	
	369	110	„	1	1	15	
	370	72	45	„	1	110	
Leaving this top it falls into a small rivulet, along which it passes to 373.	371	137	40	„	2	15	
	372	70	„	„	1	130	Here join the Oodumbay holay division of Paudy Naku Naad and Kuddieth Naad.
When uniting with the Oodumbay holay it runs along its bed to 379, the nulla is about a 100 feet broad has a rapid stream of water and a very rocky bed.	373	109	50	„	1	130	
	374	129	„	„	6	140	
	375	173	„	„	5	110	
	376	137	30	„	3	110	
	377	180	„	„	2	„	
	378	130	30	„	2	„	
Quitting the Oodumbay holay, the boundary passes a ridge to 381.	379	101	„	„	4	„	
	380	127	„	„	5	20	
	381	88	„	„	3	15	Division of Kuddieth Naad and Beyppoo Naad.
	382	142	30	„	5	60	
	383	74	„	„	1	165	
	384	39	5	„	4	„	
	385	64	15	„	4	165	
	386	99	30	„	2	70	
	387	125	„	„	1	160	
	388	171	„	„	5	10	
Crossing a small nulla it proceeds over various other ridges of irregular elevation till reaching the Kull holay at 392.	389	98	45	„	2	170	
	390	177	19	„	4	55	
	391	124	30	„	2	50	
	392	46	30	„	2	55	Meets the Kull holay

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	′	Distances. Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.	Objects.
From thence it runs along its bed to 397 where it falls into the Burrapolay along whose stream it passes to 409. Both those Nullahs are remarkable for the steepness of their banks, and the ruggedness of their bottoms, their breadth is similar, and may be about 200 feet broad.	393	112	,,	,,	4	100	
	394	128	30	,,	2	110	
	395	114	30	,,	4	,,	
	396	85	,,	,,	4	10	Meets the Burrapolay.
	397	134	30	,,	3	,,	
	398	74	,,	,,	3	,,	
	399	109	,,	,,	3	110	
	400	61	10	,,	2	,,	Division of Baithsally and BettiothNaad.
	401	105	,,	,,	1	165	
	402	73	,,	,,	2	100	
	403	127	30	,,	1	165	
	404	63	,,	,,	2	,,	
	405	110	28	,,	1	165	
	406	60	30	,,	1	100	
	407	127	45	,,	1	150	
	408	76	30	,,	4	160	
	409	117	30	,,	2	165	Division of Bettioth and Murray Naad.
Quitting the Burropolay the boundary passes over two exceedingly steep and elevated ridges reaching the summits of the ghaut at 418. It passes along them to 419.	401	174	30	,,	4	55	
	411	188	,,	,,	6	60	
	412	162	40	,,	4	,,	
	413	180	,,	,,	4	,,	
	441	183	45	,,	2	110	
	415	158	30	,,	2	10	
	416	116	30	,,	5	150	
	417	156	10	,,	2	27	
	418	193	,,	,,	7	70	
	419	133	,,	1	3	120	
But descends them with rapidity joining a Nullah at their foot to 423. It passes along this stream to 425, this Nullah is small but rugged. Leaving it the line of division ascends a ridge and passes along it to 428 descending it passes a small Nullah at 429.	420	151	30	,,	3	70	
	421	163	,,	,,	3	,,	
	422	141	10	,,	5	170	
	423	126	30	,,	4	120	
	424	116	10	1	1	55	
	425	148	45	,,	2	165	
	426	180	,,	,,	2	55	
	427	201	30	,,	3	48	
	428	120	35	,,	3	150	
	429	148	45	,,	3	150	
Whence it ascends with steepness till to 434, and continues to do so till reaching the top of the ghauts at 440, where unite the three boundaries of Codugu, Malliallem, and Wynaad.	430	82	,,	,,	4	,,	
	431	105	45	,,	4	,,	
	432	138	56	,,	4	150	
	433	115	56	,,	2	200	
	434	81	15	,,	5	140	
	435	127	30	,,	3	110	
	436	106	35	,,	3	130	
	437	9	15	,,	1	170	
Quitting the point where the 3 boundaries unite the line separating Codugu from	438	46	5	,,	4	110	
	439	78	15	3	2	50	
	440	120	30	,,	1	60	

1117

The last portion of the boundary it will be seen, runs with but little exception along the foot of the western ghauts passing for the whole distance through a forest of uncommon density, and invariably over steep, and high ridges; it is scarcely necessary to remark that this portion of frontier is of great natural strength and easily defencible throughout the wall formed by this range of mountains presenting a barrier that can only be passed at the few points where the roads may traverse it.

DESCRIPTION.	Nos.	Angles. °	′	Distances. Miles.	Furlongs.	Yards.	Objects.
Wynaad passes immediately along the top of a steep ghaut, till reaching 448, this distance presents to the south a steep and precipitous wall, to the N. an elevated Table the highest top of which is the hill of Brumagerry.	441	100	15	„	7	110	Division of Murray and Tawullugayray Naad.
	442	112	58	„	6	70	
	443	87	„	„	2	150	
	444	105	30	„	4	55	
	445	85	15	„	2	165	
	446	123	„	„	5	120	
From the last point branches off a high and steep ridge of hills; along the summit of this range the boundary continues to pass; their elevations are very great to 456.	447	58	15	„	3	110	
	448	105	15	„	4	110	
	449	27	58	„	5	120	
	450	57	15	„	2	120	
	451	91	30	„	3	20	
	452	71	58	„	3	60	
From this the range gradually becomes lower, the boundary still continuing to pass along it till to 461, this latter portion runs through jungle, the previous part however of the Wynaad Boundary (that is from 441 to 456) runs over hills comparatively free from forest; from this point the boundary descends and again ascends to a top at 462; from this last point it gradually falls to 464 when passing a small Nullah, it proceeds over a low jungly slope joining the Kaydeegay Holay at 467 this being the point of division between the Mysore, Wynaad and Codugu countries.	453	111	„	„	2	150	
	454	139	30	„	2	100	
	455	90	30	„	1	4	
	456	37	45	„	2	60	
	457	52	„	„	2	150	
	458	38	30	„	5	70	
	459	88	10	„	1	55	
	460	58	15	„	1	70	
	461	48	15	1	3	40	
	462	75	15	„	5	110	
	463	101	45	„	4	165	Pass small Nulla.
	464	53	30	„	6	„	
	465	29	30	„	3	165	
	466	86	45	„	3	110	
	467	60	30	„	1	110	Mcogoods X.

The whole of the Wynaad boundary may be said to pass along the crest of a high ridge of hills, and is consequently from this circumstance extremely strong, and is rendered still more so by the rugged nature of the country in its vicinity.

From the minute nature of the above description but little more need be said with regard to the boundary. Considered in a military light, it will be seen, that it is covered by Hills with little exception; about one third of its extent, that is, from the point where the Wynaad and Mysore boundaries unite till passing the village of Beendeeaduker; from this gradually becoming weaker, it may be said to be quite open till meeting the Nittrawutti or Coomardarry; the whole extent of that river though presenting a good natural boundary, cannot from its confined breadth be considered in every place a very defencible one—leaving it hills again cover the line of demarkation till it meets the champaign district of Yailsowra; from this the frontier is entirely open till the point where it joins the Cauvery—that river though a tolerably good barrier is still less so than the thick forest, which commencing from where the boundary quits its stream continues without interruption till to the Kaydeegay Holay; the point, as has just been observed, where the Hills may be said to commence.

1119

APPENDIX.

TO

PART I

1120

TRIANGLES

The Triangular operations of Colonel Lambton in connecting the two coasts of the Peninsula having been carried through Codugu, the subsequent series will necessarily be of minor consideration, such however became absolutely requisite as those above alluded to were of too great magnitude to admit of their being useful in taking up the geographical detail of the country. The accompanying Triangles will therefore be viewed as only filling up the primary ones which served as their basis, and for the purposes that have been stated, their amount has been limited to such a number as were found sufficient for facilitating the operation of the Topographical Survey. The great magnitude of the Primary Triangles rendered it difficult in some measure to determine, with that nice accuracy that could be desired, some of the intermediate ones, as the Telescope of the ordinary Theodolite, is not sufficiently powerful to cut with precision, objects at so considerable a distanee; each side however has been separately determined from distinct data, and the general results were found in every instance of sufficient correctness, to answer in a satisfactory manner all the purposes for which they were intended.

TADIANDAMALE AND BETTADIPOOR—5·3015991 200262

1	Tadiandamale ...	31	36	„	5·2854876	192969
	Maullimby... ...	77	57	„	5·0305950	107299
	Bettadipoor... ...	70	27	„		

SOOBRAMUHNI AND BETTADIPOOR—5·2323200 170734

2	Soobramuhni ...	26	37	„	4·8884062	77340
	Maullimby... ...	134	33	„	5·0307473	107336
	Bettadipoor... ...	18	50	„		

BETTADIPOOR AND TADIANDAMALE—5·3015991 200262

3	Bettadipoor... ...	39	8	„	5·1211203	132166
	Cotay Betta... ...	100	21	„	5·1088407	128482
	Tadiandamale ...	40	29	„		

TADIANDAMALE AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2141293 163730

4	Tadiandamale ...	14	19	29	5·109149	128543
	Cotay Betta... ...	126	35	„	4·7028565	50449
	Soobramuhni ...	39	5	31		

SOOBRAMUHNI AND BETTADIPOOR—5·2323200 170734

5	Soobramuhni ...	34	26	„	4·7040011	50582·6
	Cotay Betta ...	133	4	„	5·1210869	1321·56
	Bettadipoor... ...	12	30	„		

COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1210869 132156

6	Cotay Betta... ...	54	2	„	4·8380305	68870
	Maullimby... ...	94	40	„	5·0306701	107317
	Bettadipoor... ...	31	18	„		

1122

	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0306701					107317.
7	Maullimby... ...	49	10	„	4·8849508	76727
	Codergurrahully...	85	23	„	4·9109563	81462·2
	Bettadipoor... ...	45	27	„		
	COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1210869					132156
8	Cotay Betta... ...	20	27	„	4·7543025	56794
	Codergurrahully...	145	27	„	4·9107182	81417
	Bettadipoor... ...	14	6	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND COTAY BETTA—4·8380305					68870
9	Maullimby... ...	39	51	„	4·8876237	77201·1
	Soobramuhni ...	61	8	„	4·7024615	50403
	Cotay Betta... ...	79	1	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2323200					170734
10	Bettadipoor... ...	26	36	„	4·9087025	81040·6
	Codergurrahully...	133	8	„	5·0201789	104756
	Soobramuhni ...	20	16	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND COTAY BETTA—4·8384902					68948
11	Maullimby... ...	45	32	„	4·8844758	76643
	Codergurrahully...	60	3	„	4·7543040	56794
	Cotay Betta... ...	74	25	„		
	CODERGURRAHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·8849508					76727.
12	Codergurrahully...	60	3	„	4,8389652	69018·6
	Cotay Betta ...	74	25	„	4,7547062	56484·8
	Maullimby... ...	45	32	„		

CODERGURRAHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·8849508 767274

13	Codergurrahully...	47	45	„	5·0203572	104799
	Soobramuhni ...	46	52	„	4·8911277	77826.5
	Maullimby... ...	85	23	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950					107298
14	Maullimby... ...	112	39	„	4·6649827	46236·2
	Hurrugul	48	31	„	5·1211697	132181
	Bettadipoor... ...	18	50	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND COTAY BETTA—5·1210869					132153
15	Bettadipoor... ...	12	29	„	5·1211559	132177
	Hurrugul	83	43	„	4·4584101	28734
	Cotay Betta... ...	83	48	„		
	CODERGURRAHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·8849508					76727·4
16	Codergurrahully...	36	44	„	4·8436203	69762
	Hurrugul	79	47	„	4·6685597	46618·6
	Maullimby... ...	63	29	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND HURRUGUL—5·1211697					132181
17	Bettadipoor... ...	26	37	„	4·9084888	81000·6
	Codergurrahully...	122	7	„	4·8445997	69199
	Hurrugul	31	16	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND COTAY BETTA—4·8380305					68885
18	Maullimby... ...	17	57	„	4·6655622	46298
	Hurrugul	132	14	„	4·4578214	28696
	Cotay Betta ...	29	49	„		

9124

	COTAY BETTA AND MAULLIMBY—4·8384902					68943
19	Cotay Betta ...	44	15	„	4·6360564	43257
	Koondhully... ...	97	15	„	4·6861535	48546
	Maullimby... ...	38	30	„		
	KOONDHULLY AND COTAY BETTA—4·6360564					43257
20	Koondhully... ...	68	9	„	4·4·05531	30238
	Kalkundoor... ...	70	36	„	4·6290628	42566
	Cotay Betta... ...	41	15	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND COTAY BETTA—5·1210860					132153
21	Bettadipoor... ...	18	2	„	5·0599268	114796
	Kalkundoor... ...	104	56	„	4·6269252	42357
	Cotay Betta... ...	57	2	„		
	MAULLIMBY AMD KOONDHULLY—4·6861335					48546
22	Maullimby... ...	53	50	„	4·4227375	26469
	Kalkundoor ...	117	8	„	4·4815859	30310
	Koondhully... ...	29	2	„		
	MAULLIMBY AMD BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950					107299
23	Maullimby... ...	99	21	„	4·4290252	26855
	Kalkundoor... ...	67	18	„	5·0598019	114763
	Bettadipoor... ...	13	21	„		
	COTAY BETTA AND MAULLIMBY—4·8384902					68943
24	Cotay Betta... ...	29	49	„	4·4578300	28696·5
	Hurrugul	132	14	„	4·6655622	46298
	Maullimby... ...	17	57	„		

	KOONDHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·6861535					48546
25	Koondhully ...	72	17	„		
	Hurrugul... ...	87	12	„	4·2320045	17061
	Maullimby... ...	20	33	„	4·6654872	46290
	BETTADIPOOR AND MAULLIMBY—5·0305950					107239
26	Bettadipoor ...	18	50	„		
	Hurrugul... ...	48	31	„	5·1201690	132182
	Maullimby... ...	112	39	„	4·6649827	46236·2
	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950					107229
27	Maullimby... ...	133	14	„		
	Koondhully ...	32	42	„	4·6847107	48385·
	Bettadipoor ...	14	4	„	5·1674824	147056·
	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0306685					107317
28	Maullimby... ...	61	41	„		
	Noorkull	58	11	„	5·0394955	109520
	Bettadipoor ...	60	8	„	5·0460306	111181
	KALKUNDOOR AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0598624					114779
29	Kalkundoor ...	64	29	„		
	Noorkull	68	44	„	4·9530822	89759·9
	Bettadipoor ...	46	47	„	5·0459173	111152·
	HURRUGUL AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1211559					132177
30	Hurrugul	56	26	„		
	Noorkull	82	16	„	4·9446688	88037·7
	Bettadipoor... ..	41	18	„	5·0458955	111146.

1126

COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1211203 132166

31	Cotay Betta ...	56	59	„	4·8060782	63985·
	Noorkull	94	9	„	5·0457698	111114·
	Bettadipoor ...	28	52	„		

COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE -5·1088407 128482

32	Cotay Betta ...	43	20	„	4·8058745	63955
	Noorkull	108	31	„	4·9687117	93049
	Tadiandamale ...	28	9	„		

TADIANDAMALE AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2141293 163730

33	Tadiandamale ...	22	16	30	4·9296028	85036
	Muddukayray Tree...	136	58	„	4·9587741	90944
	Soobramuhni ...	20	45	30		

SOOBRAMUHNI AND COTAY BETTA—4·7023616 50392

34	Soobramuhni ...	18	17	„	4·9584396	90874
	Muddukayray Tree...	20	11	„	4·6610478	45819·2
	Cotay Betta ...	141	32	„		

COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE—5·1091497 128543

35	Cotay Betta ...	41	53	„	4·6611101	45825·8
	Muddukayray Tree...	157	10	„	4·9297356	85062·
	Tadiandamale ...	7	57	„		

COTAY BETTA AND NOORKULL—4·8058763 639553

36	Cotay Betta ...	28	28	„	4·6651961	46259·
	Muddukayray Tree...	108	6	„	4·5063833	32091·
	Noorkull	43	26	„		

SOOBRAMUHNI AND BETTADIPOOR—5·2323200

37	Soobramuhni ...	40	00	10	5·0568603	113968·
	Noorkull	98	42	„	5·0454136	111023·
	Bettadipoor ...	41	17	50		
TADIANDAMALE AND MUDDUKAYRAY TREE—4·9296692						85049·
38	Tadiandamale ...	20	3	20	4·9701672	93361·3
	Noorkull	65	12	40		
	Muddukayray Tree...	94	44	„	4·5069513	32133·
KOONDHULLY AND MAULLIMBY—4·6861535						48546
39	Koondhully ...	129	30	„	4·4668973	29302
	Soorlaby Peak ...	31	54	„	4·8505593	70885
	Maullimby... ...	18	86	„		
MULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305450						107286
40	Maullimby... ...	114	36	„	4·8503276	70848
	Soorlaby Peak ...	40	11	„	5·1795035	151183·
	Bettadipoor ...	25	13	„		
KOONDHULLY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1516117						145040
41	Koondhully ...	96	48	„	4·4668528	29299
	Soorlaby Peak ...	72	7	„	5·1700532	147929
	Bettadipoor ...	11	5	„		
KOONDHULLY AND KALKUNDOOR—4·4810698						30274
42	Koondhully ...	100	21	„	4·4660665	29246·
	Soorlaby Peak ...	40	39	„	4·6600730	45716·8
	Kalkundoor ...	39	„	„		

	MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0306686					107317
43	Maullimby... ...	84	58	„	5·2602071	182057
	Payroor	31	46	„		
	Bettadipoor ...	63	16	„	5·3076242	203060
	COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1212473					132204
44	Cotay Betta ...	110	30	„		
	Payroor	37	33	„	5·0598090	114764
	Bettadipoor ...	31	57	„	5·3078943	203176
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2141293					
45	Soobramuhni ...	33	29	31		
	Noorkull	104	02	„	5·0566958	113945
	Tadiandamale ...	42	28	29	4·9690855	93129.1
	COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE—5·1089437					128512
46	Cotay Betta... ...	71	11	„		
	Seedasweer... ...	61	15	„	5·0341828	108188
	Tadiandamale ...	47	34	„	5·1422255	138748
	MAULLIMBY AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2854876					192969
47	Maullimby... ...	45	42	„		
	Seedasweer ...	95	36	„	5·0836039	121228
	Tadiandamale ...	38	42	„	5·1422919	138769
	COTAY BETTA AND TADIANDAMALE—5·1083437					128334
48	Cotay Betta... ...	33	6	„		
	Tha'oor	103	39	„	4·9571933	90613
	Tadiandamale ...	43	15	„	4·8586604	72221·5

1129

	SOOBRAMUHNI AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2141293					163730
49	Soobramuhni ...	19	10	„	5·0266869	106338
	Tha'oor	131	57	„	4·8590085	72278·5
	Tadiandamale ...	28	53	„		
	TADIANDAMALE AND SEEDASWEER—5·1422919					138768
50	Tadiandamale ...	90	49	„	4·8586214	72214
	Tha'oor	65	52	„	5·1891103	154564
	Seedasweer... ...	27	19	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND NOORKULL—5·0464717					111294
51	Bettadipoor ...	25	37	„	4·8122514	64901
	Seedasweer... ...	126	23	„	4·7764687	59768
	Noorkull... ...	28	„	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND NOORKULL—5·0397234					109578
52	Maullimby... ...	29	23	„	5·0835811	121221
	Seedasweer... ...	64	25	„	4·7753046	59608
	Noorkull... ...	86	12	„		
	CODERGURRAHULLY AND BETTADIPOOR—4·9108324					81439
53	Codergurrahully....	52	46	„	4·7226833	52306
	Seedasweer... ...	86	53	„	4·8124855	64936
	Bettadipoor... ...	40	21	„		
	MAULLIMBY AND CODERGURRAHULLY—4·8849508					767273
54	Maullimby... ...	16	52	„	5·0837783	121277
	Seedasweer... ...	24	57	„	4·7224282	52775
	Codergurrahully...	138	11	„		

BETTADIPOOR AND COTAY BETTA—5·1211203 132166

55	Bettadipoor ...	54	27	"		
	Seedasweer... ...	96	17	"	4·8129334	65003
	Cotay Betta... ...	29	16	"	5·0331525	107932

MAULLIMBY AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0305950 107298

56	Maullimby... ...	32	17	"		
	Seedasweer... ...	61	56	"	5·0837519	121269
	Bettadipoor... ...	85	47	"	4·8125571	649467

SEEDASWEER AND TADIANDMALE—5·1422919 138768

57	Seedasweer... ...	28	26	"		
	Baingoor	75	35	"	5·1430600	139015
	Tadiandamale ...	75	59	"	4·8339181	68221

TADIANDAMALE AND NOORKULL—4·9687677 93061

58	Tadiandamale ...	56	32	"		
	Baingoor	77	46	"	4·8334659	68150
	Noorkull	45	42	"	4·9000167	79435·9

BETTADIPOOR AND TADIANDAMALE—5·3015991 200262

59	Bettadipoor ...	19	53	"		
	Baingoor	91	12	"	5·2716031	186897
	Tadiandamale ...	58	55	"	4·8333065	68125

COTAY BETTA AND BETTADIPOOR—5·1211203 132166

60	Cotay Betta ...	122	48	"		
	Sayrungaul ...	31	21	"	5·0446965	110840
	Bettadipoor... ...	25	51	"	5·3294681	213534

1131

COTAY BETTA AND CODERGURRAHULLY—4·7544859 56818

61	Cotay Betta... ...	102	21	"	5·0443099	110869
	Sayrungaul ...	24	17	"	5·1302128	134962
	Codergurrahully....	53	22	"		

SOOBRAMUHNI AND THA'OOR—5·0266869 106337

62	Soobramuhni ...	12	11	"	4·7391813	54850
	Moodapaudee ...	155	26	"	4·7322185	53978
	Tha'oor... ...	12	23	"		

SOOBRAMUHNI AND COTAY BETTA—4·7026545 50426.0

63	Soobramuhni ...	70	26	"	4·7389214	54817
	Moodapaudee ...	51	24	"	4·783381·4	60799
	Cotay Betta... ...	58	10	"		

THA'OOR AND COTAY BETTA—4·9571933 90613·6

64	Tha'oor	40	41	"	4·7322884	53987
	Moodapaudee ...	104	"	"	4·7844554	60877
	Cotay Betta ...	35	19	"		

COTAY BETTA AND THA'OOR—4·9571933 90613·6

65	Cotay Betta... ...	16	10	"	5·1776446	150537
	Purruthuddy... ...	21	40	"	4·8346441	68335
	Tha'oor	142	10	"		

THA'OOR AND MOODAPAUDY—4·7322185 539782

66	Tha'oor	101	50	"	4·8340882	68247
	Purruthuddy ...	33	40	"	4·9790974	95301
	Moodapaudy ...	44	30	"		

1132

COTAY BETTA AND SOOBRAMUHNI—4·7026545 50426

67	Cotay Betta ...	43	2	"		
	Chokaudee... ...	25	22	30	5·0390408	109406
	Soobramuhni ...	111	35	30	4·9047163	80300

THA'OOR AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·0266869 106337

68	Tha'oor	47	48	"		
	Chokaudee... ...	78	49	"	4·9395358	87003·3
	Soobramuhni ...	53	23	"	4·9047165	80300

TADIANDAMALE AND SOOBRAMUHNI—5·2141293 163730

69	Tadiandamale ...	28	45	"		
	Chokaudee... ...	78	42	"	5·2021697	159283
	Soobramuhni ...	72	33	"	4·9047658	80309

MOODAPAUDEE AND THA'OOR—4·7322185 53978·2

70	Moodapaudee ...	108	35	"		
	Chokaudee... ...	36	"	"	4·7258167	53188
	Tha'oor	35	25	"	4·9397445	87045

THA'OOR AND PUBRUTHUDDY—4·8343635 68291

71	Tha'oor	66	25	"		
	Chokaudee... ...	46	23	"	4·9393087	86958·
	Parruthuddy ...	67	12	"	4·9367643	86449·9

COTAY BETTA AND THA'OOR—4·9571933 90613·6

72	Cotay Betta ...	50	27	"		
	Chokaudee... ...	53	27	"	5·0393877	109493
	Tha'oor	76	6	"	4·9393837	86973·

	THA'OOR AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9394943					86995
73	Tha'oor... ...	66	25	„		
	Purruthuddy ...	67	12	„	4·8345491	68320·2
	Chokaudee... ...	46	23	„	4·9369504	86687·1
	CHOKAUDEE AND MOODAPAUDEE—4·7257694					53182·5
74	Chokaudee ...	82	24	„		
	Purruthuddy ...	33	29	„	4·9381612	86728
	Moodapaudee ...	64	7	„	4·9802389	95551
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9047163					803001
75	Soobramuhni ...	28	36	„		
	Purruthuddy ...	26	21	„	5·1705757	148107
	Chokaudee... ...	125	3	„	4·9375328	86603
	SOOBRAMUHNI AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9047163					80300·1
76	Soobramuhni ...	41	12	„		
	Moodapaudee ...	95	59	„	4·7393770	54875·3
	Chokaudee... ...	42	49	„	4·7257694	53182·
	THA'OOR AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9394793					86992
77	Tha'oor... ...	36	36	„		
	Payrahjee	120	8	„	4·5991430	89732·2
	Chokaudee... ...	23	16	„	4·7779438	59971·3
	THA'OOR AND MOODAPAUDEE—4·7322884					53986·9
78	Tha'oor	72	1	„		
	Payrahjee	65	51	„	4·5986969	39691
	Moodapaudee ...	42	8	„	4·7503136	56274·7

1134

	CHOKAUDEE AND MOODAPAUDEE—4·7257694					53182·5
79	Chokaudee... ...	59	16	30	4·7786837	60073·6
	Payrahjee	54	15	30		
	Moodapaudee ...	66	28	„	4·7507071	56305·7
	KUNDUDDUKUMALE AND GOOMPAY—5·1008735					126146
80	Kunduddukumale.	48	46	„	4·9816382	95860·4
	Maddhow... ...	82	22	„		
	Goompay... ...	48	52	„	4·9809750	95713·1
	BELLANAAD AND KUNDUDDUKUMALE—5·1252515					133429
81	Bellanaad	39	20	39	4·7630066	57957·1
	Maddhow... ...	118	8	„		
	Kunduddukumale.	22	31	21	4·9819291	95924·4
	GOOMPAY AND BELLANAAD—4·7734631					59355·8
82	Goompay... ...	34	53	„	4·9812614	95777·
	Maddhow... ...	35	46	„		
	Bellanaad... ...	109	21	„	4·7640148	58078·
	CHOKAUDEE AND PAYRAHJEE—4·7783105					60022
83	Chokaudee... ...	90	51	„	4·7997317	63056·8
	Maddhow... ...	43	11	„		
	Payrahjee... ...	45	58	„	4·9429939	87698·8
	THA'OOR AND CHOKAUDEE—4·9394793					86992
84	Tha'oor... ...	27	3	33	5·1026393	126660·
	Maddhow	38	48	27		
	Chokaudee... ...	114	8	„	4·8003458	63146·

MADDHOW AND BELLANAAD—4·7635553 58017

85	Maddhow... ...	145	„	„	4·7995582	63031·6
	Chokaudee	16	45	6	5·0624163	115546·
	Bellanaad	18	14	54		

BELLANAAD AND KUNDUDDUKUMALE—5·1252515 133429

86	Bellanaad	57	34	„	5·0630692	11·5629
	Chokaudee... ...	68	37	43	5·0825416	120932
	Kunduddukumale.	53	48	17		

BULLAMALE AND GOOMPAY—4·7402837 54990

87	Bullamale	76	3	1	4·9670277	92689
	Maddhow... ...	35	53	45	4·9808917	95695
	Goompay	70	3	14		

GOOMPAY AND BULLAMALE—4·7402853 54990·2

88	Goompay... ...	61	16	„	5·0926700	123785
	Kulbetta... ...	26	21	„	5·0359793	108637
	Bullamale... ...	92	23	„		

GOOMPAY AND MADDHOW—4·9811161 95745

89	Goompay... ...	8	47	„	5·0927089	123796
	Kulbetta	26	37	„	4·5136539	32632·8
	Maddhow... ...	144	36	„		

BELLANAAD AND GOOMPAY—4·7734631 59355·8

90	Bellanaad	133	34	„	4·8765232	75253
	Kulbetta	20	19	„	5·0929549	123866
	Goompay	26	7	„		

1136

MADDHOW AND BELLANAAD—4·7635553 58017

91	Maddhow... ...	108	50	„	4·5135623	32625·1
	Kulbetta	46	55	„	4·8761107	75181·4
	Bellanaad... ...	24	15	„		

BELLANAAD AND GOOMPAY—4·7734631 59355·8

92	Bellanaad	76	35	„	4·6708053	46860
	Niddoopoolly ...	60	11	„	4·8231158	66545
	Goompay	43	14	„		

BULLAMALE AND GOOMPAY—4·7402853 549902

93	Bullamale... ...	57	26	42	4·8980519	79077·3
	Niddoopoolly ...	44	11	4	4·8228343	66502
	Goompay	78	22	14		

MADDHOW AND PAYRHJEE—4·9429939 87698·8

94	Maddhow	66	48	„	4·6787378	47724·1
	Uddoor	80	43	„	5·9120991	81676·9
	Payrahjee	32	29	„		

MADDHOW AND KULBETTA—4·5135905 32628

95	Maddhow... ...	146	7	„	4·6769896	47532·4
	Uddoor	13	42	„	4·8853865	75804·5
	Kulbetta	20	11	„		

PURUTHNDDY AND MADDHOW—4·9329855 85698.9

96	Purruthuddy ...	31	52	„	4·7657830	58315·3
	Uddoor	107	44	„	4·6767157	47502·4
	Maddhow... ...	40	24	„		

	MADDHOW AND UDDOOR—4·6768490					47517
97	Maddhow	51	29	„	4·4991505	31561
	Niddoopoolly ...	86	58	„	4·5709018	37230·7
	Uddoor	41	53	„		
	MADDHOW AND BELLANAAD—4·7635553					5·8017
98	Maddhow... ...	53	34	„	4·4976301	31450·7
	Niddoopoolly ...	93	41	„	4·6700055	46774·1
	Bellanaad... ...	32	46	„		
	MADDHOW AND KUNDUDDUKUMALE—4·9817824					95892
99	Maddhow	27	29	„	4·9329855	85702·9
	Purruthuddy ...	89	11	„	4·1459893	44257·7
	Kunduddukumale.	63	20	„		
	THA'OOR AND SEEDASWEER—5·1967839					157320
100	Tha'oor... ...	27	05	„	5·1345731	136324
	Veerajenderpett Tree... ...	105	35	„	4·8222741	76256
	Seedasweer ...	56	35	„		
	NOORKULL AND SEEDASWEER—4·7758506					59683
101	Noorkull... ...	79	„	„	4·7798080	60229
	Veerajenderpett Tree... ...	50	11	„	4·8823810	76274
	Seedasweer ...	50	49	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND TADIANDAMALE—5·3015991					200262
102	Bettadipoor... ...	51	45	„	5·2883583	194249
	Brummagerray...	65	55	30	5·2361675	172253
	Tadiandamale ...	62	19	80		

1138

	NOORKULL AND BETTADIPOOR—5·0459446					111159
103	Noorkull... ...	83	17	45	5·2375709	17281·0
	Brummagerray ...	34	38	„	5·2883698	194254
	Bettadipoor ...	62	4	15		
	TADIANDAMALE AND NOORKULL—4·9687117					93049
104	Tadiandamale ...	74	42	„	5·2361958	172264
	Brummagerray ...	31	17	„	5·2376461	172840
	Noorkull	74	1	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·2883677					194253
105	Bettadipoor... ...	20	37	„	5·2671675	184998
	Beerunnauny ...	87	20	„	4·8355214	68473·3
	Brummagerray ...	72	3	„		
	BETTADIPOOR AND NOORKULL—5·0459446					111159
106	Bettadipoor... ...	41	27	15	5·2672523	185034
	Beerunnauny ...	35	53	„	5·0988172	125550
	Noorkull	102	39	45		
	BETTDIPOOR AND BRUMMAERRAY—5·2883677					194253
107	Bettadipoor ...	36	35	„	4·8128328	64987·9
	Seedasweer ...	128	10	„	5·1680654	147293·
	Brummagerray ...	15	15	„		
	TADIANDAMALE AND SEEDASWEER—5·1422580					138758
108	Tadiandamale ...	55	14	„	5·2363140	172311
	Brummagerray ...	50	44	„	5·1679970	1472330
	Seedasweer... ...	74	2	„		

SEEDASWEER AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·1680288 147241

109	Seedasweer ...	27	34	20		
	Beerunnauny ...	95	36	„	5·0928478	123836·
	Brummagerray ...	56	49	„	4·8355620	68479·7

NOORKULL AND BEERUNNAUNY—5·0988172 125550

110	Noorkull	19	20	„		
	Brummagerray ...	37	27	„	5·2373849	172737
	Beerunuauny ...	123	13	„	4·8347756	68356

BRUMMAGERRAY AND BEERUNNAUNY—4·8352865 68436·3

111	Brummagerray ...	37	43	„		
	Moogootagayray....	47	35	„	4·9532199	89788·1
	Beerunnauny ...	92	42	„	4·7402814	54989·7

TADIANDAMALE AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·2361516 172247

112	Tadiandamale ...	26	9	„		
	Moogootagayray...	122	15	30	5·0281678	106700
	Brummagerray ...	31	35	30	4·9531163	89766·9

VEERAJENDERPETT TREE AND SEEDASWEER—4·8823253 76265

113	Veerajenderpett Tree... ...	64	46	„	4·5690719	37074
	Moogootagayray...	86	13	„		
	Seedasweer... ...:	29	1	„	4·8397194	69138.7

TADIANDAMALE AND SEEDASWEER—5·1422580 138758

114	Tadiandamale ...	29	4	30		
	Moogootagayray....	102	17	„	5·0277195	106590
	Seedasweer... ...	48	38	30	4·8389109	69009·9

1140

TADIANDAMALE AND BRUMMAGERRAY—5·2361516 172247

115	Tadiandamale ...	26	9	30	5·0271295	106443
	Moogootagayray...	122	23	„	4·9538543	89919·6
	Brummagerray ...	31	27	30		
	NOORKULL AND SEEDASWEER—4·7758506					59683
116	Noorkull	54	59	„	4·9182554	82842·9
	Moogootagerray...	45	10	„	4·8383820	68925·8
	Seedasweer... ...	79	51	„		
	TADIANDAMALE AND NOORKULL—4·9687117					93049
117	Tadiandamale ...	19	36	24	4·9281907	84760·
	Muntapum... ...	95	30	16	4·4965467	31372·3
	Noorkull... ...	65	3	20		
	BRUMMAGERRAY AND TADIANDAMALE—5·2361516					172247
118	Brummagerray ...	25	19	„	5·2958728	197639
	Muntapum... ...	60	21	48	4·9281015	84742·5
	Tadiandamale ...	94	12	12		

Table shewing the Distances of the several points from the Meridian of Babroyn, Droog and its Perpendicular.

Places Computed.	Distances from Babroyn, Droog on the			
	Meridian.		Perpendicular.	
Tadiandamale, ...	331826	S	69272	E
Tha'oor, ...	263598	„	45494	„
Baingoor, ...	263868	„	64019	„
Sayrungaul, ...	290790	„	41215	„
Payroor, ...	309416	„	57214	„
Veerajenderpett Tree, ...	334899	„	140623	„
Moogoatagayray, ...	351573	„	176617	„
Beerunnauny, ...	400161	„	148225	„
Brummagerry, ...	435166	„	207079	„
Seedasweer, ...	288083	„	200827	„
Noorkull, ...	274801	„	142668	„
Muddukayray, ...	259672	„	114298	„
Codergurrahully, ...	246299	„	168607	„
Bettadipoor, ...	245732	„	250084	„
Maullimby, ...	169870	„	174191	„
Koondhully, ...	171343	„	125605	„
Hurrugul, ...	187495	„	131493	„
Kalkundoor, ...	185250	„	152443	„
Soorlaby Peak, ...	194570	„	107736	„
Cotay Betta, ...	214445	„	121588	„
Soobramuhni, ...	170437	„	96850	„
Moodapaudee, ...	211829	„	660813	„
Payrahjee, ...	240727	„	12753	„
Chokaudee, ...	181290	„	17274	„
Bullamale, ...	116722	„	116546	„
Bellanaad, ...	137096	„	98333	„
Goompay, ...	166502	„	139909	„
Niddoopoolly, ...	182034	„	75208	„
Maddhow, ...	175154	„	44537	„
Kulbetta,...	158756	„	16208	„
Uddoor, ...	218061	„	65385	„
Kunduddu Rumale, ...	268603	„	65829	„
Purruthuddy, ...	258104	„	22766	„

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